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## THE VOYAGE OF NICHOLAS DOWNTON

SECOND SERIES

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[illegible]







The honourable S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Smythe Knight, late Embas.  
 ador from his Ma<sup>ty</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> great Emperour  
 of Rus<sup>sia</sup>, Governour of y<sup>e</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> and famous  
 Societies of Marcha<sup>nts</sup> tradinge to y<sup>e</sup> East  
 Indies Muscovy, the French and Somez  
 Islands Company, Treasur<sup>er</sup> for Virginia etc.  
 Simon Passens sculps. Lond: A<sup>d</sup> 1627. Comp<sup>to</sup> Holland et al.

SIR THOMAS SMYTHE

THE VOYAGE OF  
NICHOLAS DOWNTON  
TO THE EAST INDIES

1614-15

*As Recorded in Contemporary Narratives  
and Letters*

Edited by  
SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.

In his forgotten grave lies a man starched and square-toed, touched with absurdities such as might grace a Sir Roger de Coverley or Baron of Bradwardine, but a fine seaman, a loyal servant of the Company, and a most undoubted worker on the foundations of the Empire in India.

DAVID HANNAY

LONDON  
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY  
1939

$$1 \leq \beta \leq 3 \quad \sigma_F = 2.5 \times 10^{-3} \text{ cm}^2$$

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# INTRODUCTION

THE present volume may be regarded as a sequel to the one published by the Society four years ago, describing the voyage of Captain Thomas Best to the East Indies in 1612-14. Although it started more than three months before Best returned to England, Downton's fleet was in fact despatched expressly to follow up the achievements of its predecessor, especially as regards the establishment of trade in Western India. In both cases this objective involved the English in fierce fighting with the Portuguese, and their success on both occasions demonstrated the powerlessness of that nation to prevent our countrymen from exercising their right to trade in Indian ports without interference from Goa. It may be added that, just as the volume on Best leads up to the present work, so Downton's voyage was succeeded by that of the fleet commanded by William Keeling, which carried out in 1615 Sir Thomas Roe on his memorable embassy to the Great Mogul, as chronicled in two earlier volumes of the Society's series. The three works cover the whole of the critical period during which the English were making good their position in Western India.

The gap in the Court Minutes of the East India Company between January 1610 and December 1613 leaves us much in the dark as to the proceedings of that body between those dates. We know, however, from other sources that during the period an important change was made in the financial methods of the Company. The system of separate subscriptions (with a few exceptions) for each voyage, which had produced undesirable competition in the East and some confusion in the accounts at home, was abandoned—now that the Company was well established—in favour of a series of Joint Stocks, each spread over several years. Thus came into existence the First Joint Stock, based upon a subscription which was to be paid in instalments for four successive years, and realized 106,000*l.* in 1613 and 107,000*l.* in each of the three years following. Out of the pro-

ceeds of the first levy five ships were provided and fitted out in the autumn and winter of 1613. The first of these, the *Concord*, sailed for Bantam about the beginning of the new year; while the remaining four constituted the fleet whose fortunes we are now to follow.

This fleet consisted of four vessels: the *New Year's Gift*, newly built and of the burden of 650 tons: the old *Hector* (500 tons), which had taken part in so many of the previous voyages: the *Merchants' Hope*<sup>1</sup> (300 tons), which now appears for the first time among the Company's ships and may also have been new: and the *Solomon* (200 tons), which had gone to Bantam in 1612 and returned in the following year. Of the cargoes carried out by these four ships a detailed account will be found in *I.O. Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. xxv, p. 34. The total cost is given as 33,489*l.* Of this sum nearly two-thirds (21,262*l.*) went in the provision of Spanish rials of eight, to be used in the purchase of return cargoes<sup>2</sup>. As regards actual merchandise, the most expensive items were ivory ('elephants' teeth') (3077*l.*) and broadcloth (3000*l.*). Then came lead (1774*l.*), quicksilver (1752*l.*), tin and pewter (424*l.*), iron (354*l.*), apparel, largely shirts and shoes for sale to the seamen and others (283*l.*), looking-glasses (204*l.*), swordblades (184*l.*), and vermilion (156*l.*). Miscellaneous headings included knives, strong waters, Russian hides, and fowling-pieces. The expenditure on articles for presents was high (659*l.*), and of this 255*l.* went in pictures. Some of them (mostly biblical or classical subjects) came from Rouen; but there were also portraits in oils of King James and

<sup>1</sup> Usually called in the text 'the *Hope*,' just as the *New Year's Gift* is often abbreviated to 'the *Gift*.'

<sup>2</sup> The Spanish dollar or rial of eight (more correctly, the piece of eight rials) was at that time the only European coin in general esteem throughout the East Indies, owing chiefly to its uniformity of weight and the purity of its silver. Two varieties were current, the old and the new, the former being coined in Spain and the latter in Mexico. Peyton (*Purchas*, vol. 1, p. 530) discriminates them as 'the old, with the plain cross,' and 'the new, with flower-de-lices at the ends of the cross'; and it will be seen from p. 172 that the latter (perhaps on account of its novelty) was worth at Surat a little less than the former. Both varieties are illustrated in the plate of coins at p. 146.

The supply sent out in the present voyage was purchased in London at a flat rate of four shillings apiece, with in addition a small commission.

his queen, of Sir Thomas Smythe (Governor of the Company), and of various ladies. Two represented respectively Tamerlane and Jahāngīr himself—the latter a fanciful portrait which gave no satisfaction to the subject of it, as it naturally proved to be ‘nothing like him’ (*Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 67). It was at first decided to include in the cargoes a number of latten basins, which it was thought would be in demand, ‘in regard those people are very superstitious and washe there hands whensoever they goe to their worship’ (*Supplementary Calendar*, p. 34); but this order was countermanded, upon Ufflet pointing out that such basins were already made in the country (Court Minutes, 19 January 1614).

The leadership of the expedition as ‘General’ was entrusted to Nicholas Downton, who had been Sir Henry Middleton’s second in command in the Sixth Voyage and had recently come home in charge of the *Peppercorn*, arriving towards the end of October 1613. The anxieties and privations then endured had told seriously upon his health; but after a few weeks’ rest he had declared himself sufficiently recovered to undertake a fresh voyage, and the Company had gladly accepted his services.

Of Downton’s birth and parentage nothing has hitherto been known. A clue was provided, however, by his will (of which further details are given later). In this document legacies were left to a brother, Edward Downton, of Worcester, and to a sister, Mrs Elizabeth Evans, who was described as dwelling in the parish of ‘Bishly’; a sum of 10*l.* was also bequeathed to the poor of that parish. ‘Bishly’ was evidently Bushley, a village two miles northwest of Tewkesbury; and in the hope that this might prove to be Downton’s native place, I wrote to the vicar (the Rev. William Walters). He kindly searched the church registers, and from them discovered that Nicholas, son of John and Katherine Downton, was baptized on 10 February 1561. He also found the baptism of another son, Roger, on 28 April 1566, the deaths of the parents (both in 1593), and the marriage of their daughter Elizabeth to John Evans (1593). From these facts we may conclude that Nicholas Downton was born at Bushley early in the year 1561.

Where he was educated and how long he remained at home

we cannot tell; but it is reasonable to suppose that he went to sea at a comparatively early age. As years went on and he rose in his profession, he seems to have established himself at Gosport, near Portsmouth; for in his will he bequeathed a piece of garden ground there to three trustees for distribution among five poor inhabitants of that borough. During this Gosport period may have occurred his marriage and the birth of his children; but on these points we have no information. Apparently, at a later date he was living in London, and the fact that he left 10*l.* to the poor of St Mary Woolnoth suggests that he was resident in that parish.

The account of Downton's career given in the *Dictionary of National Biography* commences only with his engagement by the East India Company in 1610. It is possible, however, to supplement this, not only by the information just given, but in two further respects. Hakluyt, in his *Principall Navigations*, printed a narrative by Downton (whom he styles 'the discreet and valiant captaine') of the expedition sent out to the Azores by the Earl of Cumberland in 1594, which resulted in the destruction of the Portuguese carrack *Las Cinco Chagas*. Downton was in command of the *Sampson*, and was severely wounded at the commencement of the action. He is next heard of in 1605, when he made a trading voyage to Cumana and other ports in the Caribbean Sea, as commander of a small merchantman called the *Pilgrim*. From two documents still preserved in the India Office (*Marine Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iv), it appears that Downton and the Earl of Cumberland were the principal shareholders; and since the return cargo consisted largely of tobacco, we may infer that the ship came home by way of Virginia. After this we lose sight of him until 1610, when (as already stated) he went out to the East in the Sixth Voyage, as captain of the *Peppercorn* and second in command to Sir Henry Middleton. A full account of this expedition is given in Sir Clements Markham's *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster* (published by the Society in 1877), on p. 151 of which will be found Downton's own account of his experiences<sup>1</sup>. He had

<sup>1</sup> Taken from a contemporary copy of his journal, still among the *Marine Records* at the India Office. It was used by Purchas for the same purpose (*Pilgrimes*, vol. i, p. 274).

evidently won the respect and confidence of his employers, and among themselves they spoke approvingly of his modesty and his love of peace and quietness. Of his seamanship and general ability no question could be made, and his nomination as General of the new fleet seems to have been accepted with the approval of all concerned.

On the subject of Downton's character the reader will form his own opinion from the materials here provided, which show clearly both his virtues and his limitations. Brave, able, and conscientious<sup>1</sup>, he seems to have been popular with the ships' officers and men. He had little of the decision and self-confidence of his predecessor, Captain Best, and was almost painfully cautious and distrustful of his own abilities. He thought best with a pen in his hand, with the result that he was continually drawing up memoranda, weighing the pros and cons, and issuing written instructions, providing for all contingencies. Edwards sneered at his 'plenteous formality of words' (*Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 79); and it must be confessed that there was substance in the criticism, for Downton's phrasing is sometimes stilted and his sentences are apt to be labyrinthine. This, however, was a small matter, and need not impair our admiration for his solid qualities. Purchas—who may have known some who had been personally acquainted with Downton—writes warmly of 'his worth, savouring of a true heroike disposition, pietie and valour being in him seasoned with gravitie and modestie'; and certainly in that generation the East India Company had no servant who surpassed him in the conscientious and unselfish discharge of what he conceived to be his duty.

Downton was furnished with letters which had been procured from King James—one addressed to the Great Mogul<sup>2</sup>, another to the King of Achin, and two for the Emperor of China<sup>3</sup> (to

<sup>1</sup> The chaplain of the expedition (the Rev. Peter Rogers) declared that Downton was a mere hypocrite in matters of religion (*Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 76); but this accusation seems to have been prompted by personal spite.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in *Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 311.

<sup>3</sup> One of these letters, written on a sheet of vellum richly illuminated in gold and silver, is described in the tenth report of the Historical MSS. Commission, where the full text is given. The document was then in the possession of Mr R. Jasper More, having apparently been brought to England by a member of the Mytton family who went to the East in the early part of the reign of George III.

be forwarded via Bantam and Japan); also a general letter, and three more, signed by the King but with names and titles left blank (*Supplementary Calendar*, p. 41). As usual, he was armed with the authority of a royal commission, an incomplete copy of which has been printed in *The First Letter Book* (p. 449). In addition, he received from the Company a commission and instructions, abstracts of which will be found in the *Supplementary Calendar* (pp. 39-42). The royal commission differed from those given to Middleton and Best respectively (*First Letter Book*, pp. 256, 437), in that it required Downton, before resorting to martial law, to take counsel with his chief associates. From his letter to Smythe (p. 166) it appears that he resented this, and also other limitations which he conceived to have been placed upon his authority by the instructions from the Company; but there were really small grounds for his complaint, and we should probably have heard little of them had he not had other grievances to ventilate at the same time.

Experienced masters were selected for all four ships. Martin Pring, who had made three voyages to America some years before<sup>1</sup> and was destined later to command one of the Company's fleets, was appointed to the *New Year's Gift*, which was Downton's flagship. Arthur Spaight was made master of the *Hector*, Matthew Molineux of the *Hope*, and Hugh Bennet of the *Solomon*. As usual, the actual command, under the General, of each of the three subordinate ships was entrusted to one of the principal factors. William Edwards (who was to succeed to the charge of the fleet in the event of Downton's death) took charge of the *Hector*, Nicholas Ensworth (or Emsworth) of the *Hope*, and Thomas Elkington of the *Solomon*. All three were new to the Company's service. From his being assigned so prominent a position, and from the statement (*Supplementary Calendar*, p. 31) that he knew 'the language,' we may conclude that Edwards had already had experience of Eastern trading, probably in the service of the Levant Company; while that he was a man of some means is suggested by the fact that he offered to invest 1000*l.* in the Company's stock. Of Ensworth's ante-

<sup>1</sup> See a paper read by Prof. Dennis before the Maine Historical Society in November 1903.

cedents nothing is known; but he plays a very small part in our narrative, owing to his death in India not long after his arrival. Concerning Elkington (who is praised by Downton on p. 180) some information is provided by his will (for which see later). This tells us that his father was Humphrey Elkington, of Malmesbury, and his mother's Christian name was Maud. He had two brothers living, John and Humphrey; also an uncle, Giles Parslow, grocer, of London. He was apparently a bachelor, and he left his estate (including 200*l.* due from the Company for a year's salary) to his parents or, in the event of their deaths, to his brothers John and Humphrey, the latter of whom was also a factor in the present voyage.

Another factor prominent in our text is Edward Dodsworth. According to Christopher Farewell (see p. 131), he was 'more bred a gentleman then a marchant, and our Governours kinsman'; and this relationship is also mentioned by Aldworth (*Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 139). Dodsworth had gone out in Saris's fleet (1611-13) as purser of the *Hector*, and had therefore had some experience of the East. Like Edwards, he quitted the Company's service after his return from this voyage, and nothing more is known of either of them.

In addition to these experienced factors, the Company sent out in the fleet a number of lads, who were to be left at Surat, Bantam, etc., to learn the language and be trained for future employment. Among them were two kinsmen of Sir Thomas Smythe, viz. Roger Proud and Henry Smythe, the latter being the Governor's nephew. Both lads quitted Surat with Edwards, whose intention was to carry them with him to the imperial court. Smythe, however, fell ill, and on 20 January 1615 he died at Ahmadābād, much lamented. He was buried 'in the place apointed for Christians' (p. 113), and a monument was raised over his grave. Not long afterwards Proud in like manner succumbed to the climate.

The fleet left Gravesend on 28 February 1614 and the Downs a week later. The voyage to the Cape occupied a little over three months; and there a fortnight was spent recruiting the health of the crews and in obtaining fresh provisions. The ships sailed again at the end of June, and their next stopping

place was the Bay of St Augustine, on the south-west coast of Madagascar. From thence they proceeded to the island of Sokotra, mainly in order to glean some intelligence of the course of events in India. After a stay of five days, during which a purchase of aloes was negotiated, the fleet headed for the coast of India, and this was reached on 2 October at a spot near Dābhol. Turning northwards, it made its way slowly up the coast, and on the 15th anchored at Swally (near Surat). The outward voyage had thus occupied about seven and a half months. Best, following a more direct route from the Cape and making no stay on the way, had taken a month less to get from England to India.

Before narrating the subsequent proceedings, it may be well to look back to January 1613, when, as we have seen in the previous volume, Best quitted Swally, leaving behind him at Surat a handful of merchants under the charge of Thomas Aldworth. Although their stay had been sanctioned by a *farmān* from the Emperor Jahāngīr, it was thought to be of the first importance to obtain a more binding concession; and so Paul Canning was despatched to Agra to present a letter (brought out by Best) from King James to the Emperor and to negotiate a grant of privileges. Canning died about six weeks after his arrival in the capital and before he had effected anything beyond the delivery of the royal letter and presents. As regards future trade, Jahāngīr had referred him to Mukarrab Khān (Sir Henry Middleton's old opponent), who had been appointed to the control of the Gujarāt ports; and from him Canning could get no answer. On learning of the death of Canning, Aldworth sent Thomas Kerridge to take his place and continue the negotiations. This he did for many weary months, without result. The removal of the court from Agra to Ajmer gave some excuse for procrastination; but the real reason for the delay seems to have been the reluctance of Mukarrab Khān to take any action which might offend the Portuguese, whose trade was of much importance to the merchants of Gujarāt, while that of the English was as yet inconsiderable. Moreover, he was disposed to insist that the latter, before being allowed any regular commerce, should promise compensation for the exactions made by



Middleton from Indian traders in the Red Sea; and this the factors were unwilling to do, declaring their lack of authority to give any undertaking in the matter.

Suddenly came a dramatic change. In September 1613 the Portuguese, thinking to force a decision favourable to their interests, made prize of a large Surat ship, the *Rahīmi*, returning from the Red Sea with a cargo, the value of which was estimated to be 100,000*l.* sterling or more. Apparently the intention was to hold her as a pledge until a promise was given that the English should be expelled from the country and not allowed to return; but it was soon clear that the Portuguese had overreached themselves. Jahāngīr was much incensed by their high-handed action, and the more so because, not only did the *Rahīmi* hold a Portuguese pass, but the Emperor's mother was known to possess a large financial interest in the cargo. That in such circumstances the vessel should have been seized Jahāngīr took as a personal affront, and he resented it accordingly. He closed the Jesuits' churches, ordered the arrest of all the Portuguese in his dominions, and despatched Mukarrab Khān to commence war-like operations against Daman and other Portuguese strongholds. The neighbouring kingdom of Ahmadnagar was induced to join in the campaign by attacking Chaul and Bassein; while some of the small Hindu states along the Malabar Coast seem to have sent men and ships to co-operate against the common enemy.

Hostilities dragged on for many months, without success for either side. Lacking heavy artillery, the Indians could make no impression upon the Portuguese fortifications; while, although the Viceroy of Goa uttered many threats of retaliating upon Surat and other towns, the forces at his disposal were insufficient for any large-scale operations. So the position became one of stalemate, irksome for both sides. The Portuguese, besides having to withstand sporadic assaults upon their settlements, were losing the benefit of their trade with Gujarāt. On the other side the effects of the cessation of commerce were felt with equal or greater severity, and there was the additional loss of the pilgrim traffic, since no Indian vessel ventured to put to sea for fear of capture. Both parties were weary of the war; yet pride prevented an accommodation, though the Jesuits were

doing their best to bring the two sides together. Jahāngīr would listen to no overtures until the captured vessel had been restored and the resulting losses made good; the Viceroy was unwilling to do this, and was resolved not to conclude any agreement which did not provide for the exclusion of the English.

Naturally the little band of Englishmen, though nervous lest the Emperor should yield to the Portuguese demands, viewed with satisfaction the continuance of hostilities, and longed for the arrival of shipping from England, to strengthen their position and enable them to take advantage of the unwonted cheapness of indigo and calicoes which was the result of the suspension of trade with Goa. They were overjoyed, therefore, when on 15 October 1614 Downton's four ships anchored at Swally. Aldworth at once hastened down from Surat to greet them, and he assured Downton that the outlook was most favourable: that Mukarrab Khān was well disposed towards the English and would doubtless grant them 'good trade and all privileges that in reason wee could demand.' Downton, however, with his usual caution, thought Aldworth oversanguine and, from his former experiences, entirely distrusted Mukarrab Khān. Concerning the latter's intentions they were not long left in doubt. At an interview which Aldworth had with him, he at once demanded that the English ships should proceed to Daman and co-operate with his forces in its capture. This Downton refused to undertake, on the ground that any attack upon the Portuguese was forbidden by his commission from his sovereign. Mukarrab Khān then asked that the fleet should at least take up a position at the mouth of the Tāpti and guard the river against any attempt to enter it with a view to attacking Surat. Friendly Indian merchants counselled that Downton should agree to this, without any serious intention of carrying out what they knew would be an impossible task; but Downton told them that 'whatsoever I promised I must maintaine,' and therefore returned an uncompromising refusal. Mukarrab Khān was much incensed. His credit was involved in the speedy defeat of the enemy, and he regarded the English as really responsible for the whole trouble and therefore morally bound to help him. In great anger he told Aldworth that, 'if we would doe nothing for him, he would

doe nothing for us'; and accordingly for some time he 'in all things crost our proceedings all that he might.' Soon, however, he realized the wisdom of keeping on good terms with the English, lest they should come to terms with the Portuguese to his detriment; and when Aldworth returned to the fleet on 2 November he brought from the 'Nabob' (*Nawāb*)—as Mukarrab Khān is generally termed in the text—'large promises of future good respect, with free trade throughout all their countries.'

Downton was sufficiently reassured by these promises to land the goods and presents he had brought, and to arrange that merchants should be sent to Ahmadābād and other places to purchase commodities. A dispute next arose about the respective positions of Aldworth and Edwards. The Company's instructions were that the latter should be placed in charge of the merchants to be left in India, with Aldworth as his second in command. To this Aldworth refused to agree. He claimed, and with justice, that, had it not been for his opposition to Best, there would have been no factory left at Surat; that he had guided its fortunes for nearly two years, and could not be expected to surrender his post to an inexperienced newcomer. A way out of the dilemma was speedily found. It was obviously necessary that someone of more weight than Kerridge should represent the English at court; so it was decided that Edwards should proceed thither, carrying with him a new letter from King James and the presents intended for the Emperor, which, as we have seen, were of considerable value. A question then arose as to the capacity in which he should describe himself. Canning and Kerridge had in turn been discredited by being forced to admit that they were merely merchants; while on the other hand the Company had strictly prohibited the use by their servants of the title of ambassador to which Hawkins had laid claim. In the end it was resolved that Edwards should pose as a messenger from King James, charged to deliver a letter from his sovereign with appropriate gifts.

Another step resolved upon (towards the end of November) was the despatch of a mission overland to Persia to inquire into the prospects of trade in that country. Experience had shown

that the expectations at first entertained as to the sale of broad-cloth in India were far too sanguine, and that the large stock now brought was likely to lie long on hand. Meanwhile an Englishman, named Richard Steel, who had recently crossed Persia in pursuit of a fugitive debtor, had assured Aldworth that a good market for cloth would be found in that country and was urging action for such a purpose. It was determined, after consideration, to send him back thither, accompanied by a factor named Crowther. They were furnished with letters to Sir Robert Sherley, requesting him to use his influence at the Persian court to secure for them an authorization for future trade; and they were instructed, after discharging their mission, to separate, Steel going on to England overland in order to report to the Company, and Crowther returning to India to acquaint the Surat factors with the result of their efforts. The pair accompanied Edwards as far as Ajmer, as the first stage of their journey; while Aldworth and the other merchants who were to make investments in Gujarāt were likewise members of the party.

Their departure, however, was delayed until the beginning of December by a dispute with Mukarrab Khān over the presents intended for the Emperor. These he insisted upon seeing, apparently for the purpose of sending a full account of them to the court to satisfy Jahāngīr's curiosity. Edwards was equally insistent upon his right to take them up unopened, for he felt that a premature disclosure might diminish their esteem; moreover, he did not propose to deliver them all at once, but to keep back some for subsequent presentation. The result was a deadlock, during which the little band of Englishmen was made to feel Mukarrab Khān's displeasure in many vexatious ways. At last, as time was pressing, it was deemed wise to grant this request, at the same time preserving Edwards' credit by making it appear that this was done against his will. Thereupon Mukarrab Khān—stimulated apparently by a message received from court, the contents of which were not disclosed—became all graciousness; he licensed their departure, provided them with money for the journey, and made 'all kinde promises for a previlidge within his government.'

Meanwhile ominous reports were arriving of great preparations being made at Goa by the Viceroy, Don Hieronymo de Azevedo. Early in December a large fleet of Portuguese 'frigates'<sup>1</sup> passed Swally on its way to the north; and in the middle of the month came news that these vessels had attacked Broach and burnt part of the town, and that at Gogo they had done still more damage, besides destroying a number of Indian ships there. On 23 December the Portuguese flotilla reappeared, and took up a position between Downton's fleet and the mouth of the river. During the following days a few skirmishes occurred; but the frigates were easily able to keep out of range of the English guns. On 30 December Downton's vessels, which had been lying between Swally roadstead and the river's mouth, returned to the former station.

About three weeks later (18 January 1615) the Viceroy arrived with a large flotilla. According to a prisoner interrogated later, the fleet consisted of six galleons of from 400 to 800 tons, manned by nearly 1100 men and carrying in all 114 guns: two smaller ships of 200 tons and a pinnace of 120: and sixty frigates (including those already on the spot). Actually the disproportion between the fighting values of the opposing forces was probably less striking than would appear from these figures. The resources of Goa in men, money, and material were always meagre; there was a perennial lack of expert gunners and generally a shortage of European seamen; and for fighting reliance was chiefly placed upon volunteer swordsmen, who, however brave, were untrained and impatient of discipline. However, the appearance of the fleet was imposing enough; and alarmed by this display of force, Mukarrab Khān sent representatives to discuss terms of peace. But the Viceroy, thinking that, once he had destroyed the English fleet, he could dictate any terms he pleased, pitched his demands so high that the negotiations were broken off.

Meanwhile Downton was anxiously pondering his best course

<sup>1</sup> The *fregata* was a small coasting vessel, fitted to sail or row, much employed by the Portuguese in Indian waters, where its light draught made it particularly useful. It had practically nothing in common with the European frigate of later date.

of action. After weighing the matter carefully, he decided not to follow Best's example in meeting the enemy in the open sea, but to keep his ships sheltered in Swally Hole, where the surrounding sandbanks prevented the Viceroy's larger ships from attempting to enter. For this apparent timidity Downton was afterwards censured by many, including Sir Thomas Roe (*Embassy*, p. 377), who observed that 'Captain Best, with lesse force, mett them and beate them like a man, not by hazard,' instead of allowing himself to be 'beseeged in a fish pond.' Downton, however, was not in quest of glory, and would have accounted the loss of even his smallest vessel too dear a price to pay for the most resounding victory. His chief concern was for his employers' profit, and all he desired was to keep his fleet intact and in a condition to continue its voyage. He knew that the Viceroy could not blockade him indefinitely; the gunnery of his ships was much better than that of his opponents; and he was confident that he could beat off all attacks from their smaller vessels.

However, he did not remain entirely immobile. On 20 January, hoping to tempt the Portuguese to some rash venture, he moved towards the southern end of the channel, as though to make a sortie; then he stopped short and anchored, leaving the *Hope* (the leading vessel) at some distance in advance of her consorts. The enemy made no sign of action, and Downton (characteristically enough) went down to his cabin to resume his writing. Suddenly came the news that the *Hope* had been attacked and was in sore peril. Her exposed position had been quickly noted by the Portuguese, and at the top of the tide their three smaller ships and a number of frigates crossed the sandbanks and with an impetuous rush grappled with their prey. Their swordsmen poured on to her deck and a terrific combat ensued. Thrice the Portuguese seemed to have established themselves, and thrice they were driven back by the desperate bravery of the English sailors. Meanwhile Downton's other ships, cutting their cables, bore down to the rescue, and were soon pouring a steady fire into the attacking vessels. Unable to extricate themselves, these were quickly ablaze, to the dismay of those of their crews who were on board the *Hope*. With flames behind them and English

cutlasses in front, they soon thought only of securing their own safety, and threw themselves into the sea, hoping to be picked up by the attendant frigates. The English cast off the burning vessels, which drifted on to the sands and were slowly consumed. The *Hope* herself had caught alight, owing to the accidental ignition of some fireworks in her maintop; but this was safely extinguished, though not before the mainmast had been largely destroyed. All this time a long-range cannonade was going on between the rest of the opposing forces, but with little damage to either side. Elated by his success, Downton had some thoughts of going out to 'try our fortunes with the Viceroy'; but he was deterred from this course by the partial disablement of the *Hope*.

The Portuguese had sustained a disastrous repulse, when, to all appearance, they should have scored an easy victory. But on his side Downton had cause to be thankful for a lucky escape; and he was candid enough to confess this. He wrote to the Company (p. 185) that he had never seen men fight with greater resolution than the Portuguese, and that, had it not been for an initial error on their part, they might have destroyed the *Hope* and then her consorts in detail. Naturally he saw in this the direct intervention of Providence. 'Had not God foughtte for us,' he told Smythe (p. 179), 'and taken our cause on Himselfe to defend, wee had binne sore opprest.'

The English loss in this conflict was remarkably small, viz. five men killed and several more wounded. On the Portuguese side the casualties were heavy. Rumour said that 350 bodies had been carried to Daman for burial; while the shore was littered with the corpses of those who had been drowned. These losses were probably exaggerated, but they were severe enough to take away all zest for further direct assaults, and the Portuguese thenceforward confined themselves to efforts to destroy the English vessels by means of fireships.

The first result of the victory was the renewal of negotiations between the Viceroy and the Nawāb. The Jesuits, anxious to resume their labours in Northern India, had throughout been assiduous in the cause of peace, and now they managed to bring the two parties together once again. Nothing, however,

resulted. The Viceroy still refused to make any compensation for the destruction wrought by his forces, and indeed for his part demanded a large sum. Mukarrab Khān knew better than to submit such terms to his master, and the negotiations were broken off.

Azevedo now resumed the task of dealing with the English fleet. Early in February he was joined by some additional ships, bringing with them a number of fireboats. A few nights later two of these were towed by frigates near to their intended prey and were then set alight; but the English were on the watch, and the drifting fireships were easily intercepted or avoided. Another attempt was made two nights later, with equal ill-success. Then on 11 February the Portuguese flotilla fell down to the mouth of the Tāpti, apparently with some idea of sending an expedition up the river to attack Surat. The Viceroy, however, deemed it imprudent to 'unman his ships,' lest the English should thereupon assault them (as Downton declares he would have done); and after two days he departed, leaving a squadron of frigates to blockade the river mouth<sup>1</sup>.

On 25 February Mukarrab Khān came down in state to visit Downton. The interview was very cordial. Presents were interchanged, and the Nawāb went aboard the flagship and professed himself delighted with all he saw. He had at once sent to court the news of the success of the English; and the gratified Emperor, on receiving Edwards, expressed his pleasure at the good service thus rendered to him, and promised to grant in return any concession the English might desire. His satisfaction is further shown by the following entry in his *Memoirs* (vol. 1, p. 274):

The third piece of news was the defeat of the Warzā [Viceroy], who had done his best to take the castle and port of Surat. In the roadstead of the port of Surat a fight took place between the English, who had taken shelter there, and the Viceroy. Most of his ships were burnt by the English fire. Being helpless, he had not the power

<sup>1</sup> Bocarro (*Decada XIII*, pp. 342-5), who gives a candid account of the repulse of the Portuguese, says that the departure of the Viceroy was due to the receipt of news from Hormuz that the Persians had taken Gombroon. This loss placed Hormuz itself in some danger and necessitated immediate reinforcements, and Azevedo went to Diu to arrange for the despatch of part of his fleet thither.



to fight any more and took to flight. He sent someone to Mukarrab Khān, who was the governor of the ports of Gujarāt, and knocked at the door of peace, and said that he had come to make peace and not to make war: it was the English who had stirred up the war.

Since we are now quitting the subject, it may be of interest to record the final outcome of the hostilities between the Mughals and the Portuguese. In June 1615 Father Xavier succeeded in negotiating with Mukarrab Khān a preliminary agreement, by which the Portuguese were to make compensation for the *Rahīmi* and to grant certain additional passes for the Red Sea; in return, the English were to be expelled from Surat, and for the future neither they nor the Dutch were to be permitted any trade in the Great Mogul's dominions; while, if they attempted force, the Portuguese were to be allowed to land guns to drive their ships out of Swally Hole (Bocarro's *Decada XIII*, c. 88; Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa*, tr. by Stevens, vol. III, c. 6; Biker's *Tratados*, vol. I, p. 189). Jahāngīr, however, refused to confirm the agreement, except on the condition that the Portuguese should make full compensation for all the damage they had done; while the stipulation for the expulsion of the English seems also to have proved a stumbling-block. The negotiations were suspended, though only to be renewed a little later. In November 1615 Sir Thomas Roe, writing from Burhānpur on his way to the court, told the Company that 'a truce, rather than a peace, with the Mogull is newly procured, by the Portugall payeing three leeks [i.e. *lakhs*] of rupias for the ship taken, and licence to goe to the Red Sea signed. This newes I mett on the way.... I demanded what conditions concerning the English this peace did conteyne. An Armenian Christian merchaunt tould me the Mogull had answered he could not put out the English, beeing powerfull at sea, but he lefte it to the Portugalls to doe what they pleased and to endure likewise theyr fortune. So that the warr is left open for both at sea, and wee must woorke and stand upon our owne safety' (*Embassy*, p. 74).

Downton had decided to send home the *Hope*<sup>1</sup> (whose damages

<sup>1</sup> At one time it had been proposed to despatch to England two of the ships. As it was, the goods provided proved more than sufficient to fill the *Hope*, and the surplus (consisting of calicoes) was put aboard the *Hector*,

had now been made good), with a cargo consisting mainly of indigo and calicoes; and on her lading being completed, the whole fleet set sail (3 March) to escort her past the danger zone and then continue its voyage to Bantam. The Viceroy's squadron, which was passed next morning, made a show of pursuing them. Downton noted this with pleasure, for he was haunted by a fear that Azevedo would take advantage of his departure to attack Surat. On the 6th he judged that he had drawn the Portuguese sufficiently far and decided to round upon them and risk an engagement; but they were in no mood for another encounter and turned quickly towards the shore. Azevedo had many calls upon his limited resources, and his immediate purpose was gained by the departure of the English. Downton on his side had every reason to be satisfied. He had kept his fleet intact and had secured a valuable cargo for one of his ships; while by foiling the Viceroy's schemes he had not only raised the prestige of his nation in a country where prestige counted for much, but had at least kept ajar a door which Sir Thomas Roe—even then on his way to India—was to push wide open and thus establish on a lasting basis the commerce between England and the dominions of the Great Mogul.

Four days later the *Hope* said farewell to her consorts and continued her homeward voyage. This is described in some detail by Dodsworth, and we need only note that at the Cape she met a new fleet bound for India (with Roe on board), and that, after being driven into an Irish port by bad weather, she was brought safely into the Thames towards the close of the year. She was the first ship to reach England direct from an Indian port.

Downton's intention was to visit one or other of the pepper ports on the south-west coast of Sumatra; but as it was necessary to procure a special licence from Achin for such a purpose, he sent the *Hector* ahead to that port, with orders to obtain the desired permission and then rejoin the *Gift* and *Solomon* at Tiku. The *Hector* reached her destination in the middle of

with the idea that her lading might be completed at Priaman (with pepper) and she might then go home from that port. As will be seen, that scheme proved impracticable.

April, only to find that the King was at Pedir. Oxwick and an assistant were at once sent thither, to deliver a letter from King James, accompanied by a present, and to solicit the grant of a permit. A fortnight later the King returned to his capital, and the negotiations were continued there; but Oxwick's arrogant



bearing had given such displeasure at court that little progress was made. At last his colleagues demanded the intervention of Spaight, the master of the ship, and Oxwick was formally deprived of his post, while Spaight took over the task of obtaining the royal licence. This was granted on 27 June, though at the cost of many bribes and presents to officials. Meanwhile the situation had been complicated by the arrival from Bantam of

the *Thomas* (of David Middleton's fleet). She had been sent to Tiku to barter her cargo of calicoes for pepper; but finding that no trade was permissible without the special licence of the King, had come on to Achin to procure that authorization. After some dispute between the merchants of the two vessels, each set urging the other to depart, it was agreed that the *Hector*, having obtained her licence, should proceed at once to Priaman and Tiku, while the *Thomas* should follow if and when she had obtained the necessary permit. A promise was given that on her appearance the *Hector* would relinquish her trading and go on to Bantam.

Accordingly on 6 July the latter vessel set out, leaving Samuel Juxon at Achin with a stock of goods for sale. However, by this time the south-east monsoon had set in, and Tiku was only reached after a troublesome voyage of three months. Just as an agreement had been concluded for the barter of calicoes for pepper, the *Thomas*, having secured her licence, came into the road. The former dispute was now renewed; and in the end it was agreed that the *Hector* should depart for Bantam, leaving her goods with the *Thomas* for sale. This, however, displeased the local authorities, who declared that, if the *Hector* went away, they would have nothing to do with her goods; and thereupon the *Thomas*, leaving part of her cargo under the charge of a factor, set sail for Bantam on 13 November.

The *Hector* remained at Tiku until 24 April 1616, and then, with her hold full of pepper and about six hundred sacks more piled on her deck, set sail and reached Bantam on 15 May. She was in so bad a state that on 13 June she was sent to an island in the Bay of Jakatra to be careened and repaired. She arrived there in safety, but it was soon evident that her days were numbered. Peyton (*Purchas*, vol. 1, p. 503) tells us that 'the *Hector* failed at Jacatra in careening, the upper workes not fitted (as is reported), and the seames opening and receiving so much water that shee suncke in three fathom; the keele exceedingly worme-eaten.' Considering that she was not a new ship when the Company acquired her in 1600, and she had made several voyages since then, it is no wonder that sixteen years later she should be found to be completely worn out.

We must now look back to the *Gift* and *Solomon*. These vessels met the same baffling winds which were afterwards to retard the *Hector*; with the result that the intention of calling at Priaman or Tiku was perforce abandoned and the voyage was continued towards Bantam. The Sunda Straits (between Java and Sumatra) were reached in May 1615. There the two ships became separated. The *Solomon* arrived in Bantam Road on 2 June, and the *Gift* twelve days later.

Downton found John Jourdain established as Agent. The Company's orders provided that Thomas Elkington should assume that position, and Jourdain, who was anxious to return to England, willingly made way for the newcomer. It had been intended that the *Gift* should proceed either to Japan or to the Moluccas; but ships had recently been sent in both these directions, and so that plan was given up. The *Solomon* was despatched on 20 July to Patani and Masulipatam; and Downton seems to have decided to go home in the *Gift* as soon as the new crop of pepper would furnish a cargo. Meanwhile, 'unwillinge to lye still,' he determined 'to discover the east syde of Sumatra' (p. 208), where lay the port of Jambi, a great centre of pepper production. Since that town was a good way up a river, a vessel of light draught and a small pinnace were thought necessary. Accordingly, a pinnace which the *Gift* had brought out in sections was put together and named the *Assistant*; while a commencement was made with the enlargement of a country vessel intended to go as her consort. Towards the end of July, however, two small ships arrived at Bantam from England. One of them, the *Advice*, was sent on to Japan, in obedience to the instructions she brought from the Company; the other (the *Attendant*) was despatched to Jambi, accompanied by the new pinnace.

Before these vessels were ready to depart, Downton had breathed his last, at the comparatively early age of fifty-four. He had come out with 'body unrecovered,' in his zeal to do the Company service, and, writing from Swally (p. 167), he had expressed a foreboding that 'this voyadge will fully weare me out.' The responsibilities of his post had lain heavily upon him, especially during the weeks of warfare at Swally; while

the loss of his only son at that time had been a bitter blow. His constitution was probably too enfeebled to resist the fever-laden atmosphere of Bantam; but we have no details of his last illness, and know only that his death occurred on Sunday, 6 August 1615. Not even the place of his burial is recorded. There is little doubt, however, that he was laid to rest near the body of his old commander and friend, Sir Henry Middleton, on the island of Panjang, in the Bay of Bantam, the usual place of interment for the English victims of that pestiferous climate. There is small likelihood that any monument was erected over his grave. The Company banned any expenditure from its funds for such purposes, and it was difficult for any relatives in England to arrange for the erection of a memorial. But it was scarcely necessary. No one who had come into contact with Downton was likely to forget his many sterling qualities; while his victory at Swally has given him an abiding place in the history of the foundation of the British empire in India<sup>1</sup>.

Downton had signed his will on 12 July 1615<sup>2</sup>, in the presence of Benjamin Day, Thomas Crowther, and Roger Powell. Since his wife is not mentioned in this document, we may conclude that she was dead. After making bequests of 20*l.* each to his brother Edward and his sister, Mrs Evans, and (as already mentioned) sundry benefactions to the poor of three parishes, the testator gave 20*l.* to Crowther, 15*l.* to Powell, and 40*l.* to his friend Edward Wright, of Caius College, Cambridge, and Lime Street, London<sup>3</sup>. To Cecily and Anne, daughters of his friend Simeon Sedgwick (a London goldsmith), Downton left 20*l.* apiece; while the rest of his estate was to go to Sedgwick's eldest daughter Elizabeth (Mrs Buckbury), who was appointed executrix. William Burrell, shipwright, and the aforesaid Edward Wright were to act as overseers, and a sum of 10*l.* was to be

<sup>1</sup> Reference may here be made to a generous appreciation of Downton by Mr David Hannay, which appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* in March 1912. The passage on the title-page of the present volume is taken from that article.

<sup>2</sup> *P.C.C.*: *Cope* 75. It was proved by Mrs Buckbury on 16 July 1616.

<sup>3</sup> This was the well-known mathematician and hydrographer. Downton may have made his acquaintance through their common association with the Earl of Cumberland. It was at Downton's instigation that in March 1614 the East India Company engaged Wright to examine their logs and mariners and perfect their charts (Court Minutes). Wright died at some date in 1615, and probably, therefore, derived no benefit from his friend's bequest.

given to each as an acknowledgment of his services in that capacity. One significant omission in the will is the name of Downton's only surviving child, Sarah, wife of Francis Wright. From entries in the Court Minutes it appears that her husband was little better than a common sailor, and we may perhaps conclude that her father had been so angered by her marriage that he had cast her off. However, he had made a liberal provision for the offspring of the marriage, for he had requested the East India Company to reserve 200*l.* of the money due to him for his services, the interest to be paid to Mrs Wright for the maintenance of her son, and the capital to be made over to the latter upon his coming of age. Early in 1618 the Company agreed to advance 30*l.* of the capital to Mrs Wright, whose husband had been raised to the rank of master's mate and was about to sail on a fresh voyage to the East; but she was required to forgo any payment of interest until the loan was repaid. Wright appears to have died in the East in 1621, and his son was dead by February 1626, when Mrs Wright petitioned the Company to give her 50*l.* from the capital to relieve her necessities. This was done, and it was decided that the rest of the money should be retained 'for her behoofe'; but we hear nothing further of the matter, and it seems probable that she died shortly after.

When, after Downton's death, the sealed orders were opened, it was found that the Company had nominated as his successor Edwards, Ensworth, and Elkington. The first was in India, and the second was dead; and so Elkington found himself promoted to the vacant office. Thereupon he reinstated Jourdain in the post of Agent at Bantam, and himself took command of the *New Year's Gift*. It was not until 22 December that she was fully laden and departed for England. The only account we have of her homeward voyage is the scrappy one given by Purchas from the journal of Martin Pring, her master, now reproduced in our text. This records the death of Elkington on 22 January 1616<sup>1</sup>: the stay of the *Gift* at the Cape (1-8 March):

<sup>1</sup> He was evidently another victim of the unhealthiness of Bantam. He had been unwell ever since his arrival there (p. 209), and he made his will at that place on 25 November 1615, in the presence of Martin Pring, Richard Weldon, and Thomas Crowther. Probate was granted to his brother John on 17 August 1616 (*P.C.C.*: *Cope* 86).

and finally her arrival in the Downs on 25 June 1616. The loss of the Court Minutes of 1615-17 deprives us of any further particulars; but in a letter from John Chamberlain (6 July 1616), which is preserved among the Domestic State Papers, it is stated that her cargo was valued at 'better than 140,000*l*.'

The *Solomon*, the fourth vessel of Downton's fleet, was retained in the East Indies, as being of a handy size for port-to-port voyages there. After her return to Bantam from Masulipatam in the autumn of 1617, she was sent to Macassar and thence to the Banda Islands, in company with the *Thomas*. On arrival both vessels were attacked by the Dutch and captured (25 March 1618). After serving her new masters for a time, she was laid up in the Bandas as a wreck, according to a letter of 1623 (*Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1622-24, p. 202).

The materials for the text of the present volume have been drawn partly from printed and partly from manuscript sources. Downton's original journal appears to have been so copious as to have overflowed into a second book. This the Rev. Samuel Purchas was unable to find when compiling his *Pilgrimes*; but he printed considerable extracts from the first volume—fortunately, since that has in turn disappeared. His extracts have now been reproduced as the first section of our text. They end in March 1615, when the fleet was off the coast of India on its way to Bantam. To complete the story Purchas appended brief extracts from the journal of Thomas Elkington (now also missing). This carries us only to the end of November 1615; but, as already stated, the homeward voyage of the *New Year's Gift* is narrated in Martin Pring's journal (not now extant), from which Purchas likewise made extracts. Both accounts are here reprinted.

The reverend geographer further drew upon the journal of Edward Dodsworth, a merchant who went out in the *New Year's Gift* and returned from Surat in charge of the *Hope*. In this case a contemporary copy of the original journal has been preserved among the Marine Records now at the India Office (vol. xix), and we have therefore been able to print the narrative in full for the first time.

Another journal which has been utilized is vol. xxi of the same



series. This was kept on board the *New Year's Gift* by some person unknown (possibly a master's mate), and runs from the commencement of the voyage to the end of September 1615. While at sea the writer contents himself for the most part with giving in tabular form the course, direction of the wind, miles run, and so forth. During the vessel's stay in port, however, he chronicles events at some length; and these entries are now printed in narrative form at p. 52.

Some use has been made of two other journals to be found among the Marine Records. The first (vol. xx) was kept by John Monden, master's mate in the *Hector*, and the portion relevant to our purpose extends from the end of February 1614 to the middle of June 1615. The writer was subsequently transferred to the *Clove*, and the rest of his journal deals with his voyage in that ship. As a rule he confines himself to nautical matters, but he has provided us with several useful dates and some materials for notes.

The second journal (vol. x) contains (i) a log kept by Thomas Love in the Sixth Voyage, 1610-13, and (ii) a fragment of one kept on board the *New Year's Gift* in the present voyage, beginning at the Cape (30 June 1614) and ending 16 October. One of the entries in the former portion is signed by George Downton, and this suggests that he may have been the author of the second. This theory may explain how it is that some passages are included which have evidently come from the journal of Captain Downton. Two of these, not quoted by Purchas, are reproduced as notes to the present text.

Nearly twenty years after the expedition, Christopher Farewell, a factor who had gone out with Downton and had subsequently spent some time in Gujarāt, published an account of his experiences, under the title of *An East-India Colation*. His vivacious narrative contains much matter of interest and, since the volume is extremely rare, it has now been reprinted, with one or two small omissions.

The Rev. Samuel Purchas's description (in his little-known *Pilgrimage*) of the fighting at Swally has also been included. Not only does this give some fresh details, but it is also a good specimen of the author's prose, displaying the patriotic thrill

with which he always recounts the prowess of his countrymen.

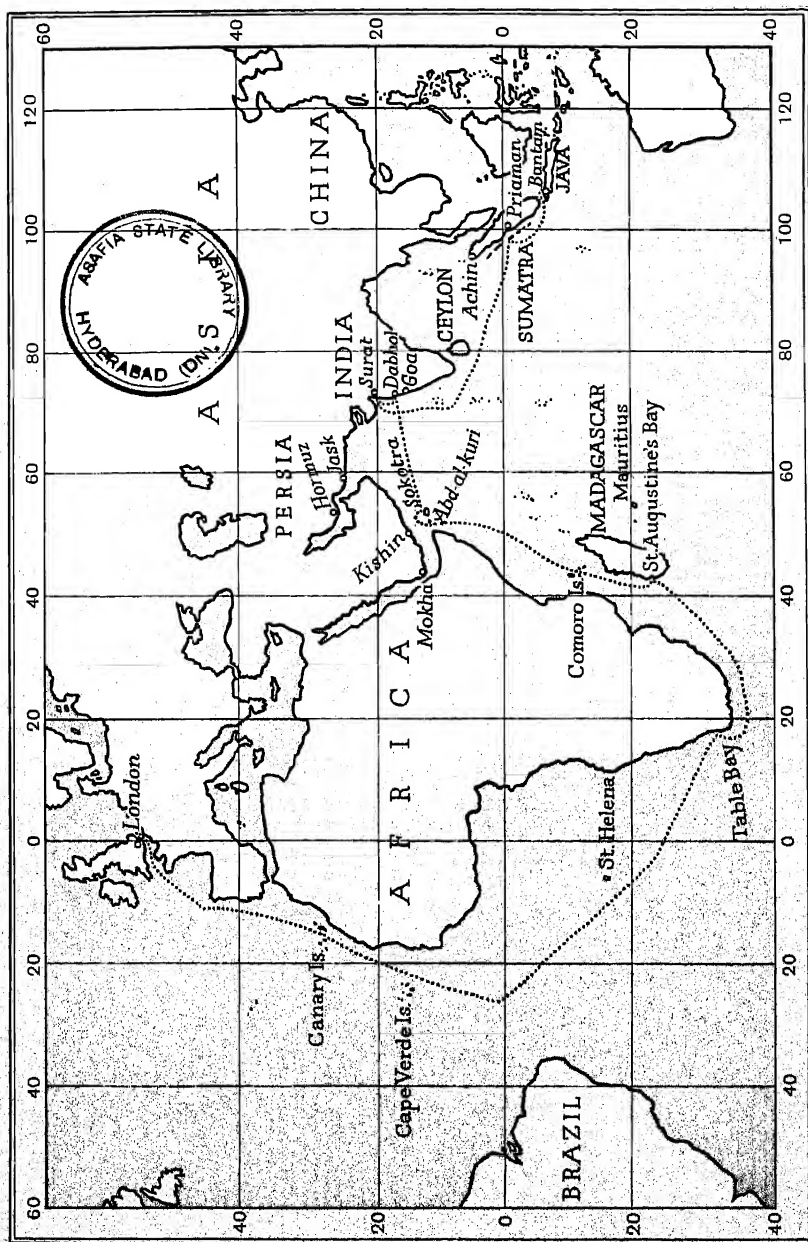
Finally, we have printed several relevant documents, mostly letters taken from the *Original Correspondence* series at the India Office. With one exception, these have already been published (in modernized form) in *Letters Received by the East India Company*; but that series is now rare, and no apology seems necessary for placing them at the reader's disposal, in their original spelling and with notes. Other letters from members of the expedition will be found in the same series, but these, though not lacking in interest, did not seem to merit reproduction here.

Most of the copying required for the volume has been done by Miss Anstey and her assistant, Miss Eldred; while Miss Anstey has further rendered great assistance in reading the proofs and by compiling the index, with her usual zeal and efficiency. The editor is also indebted to several friends, especially to the late Mr W. H. Moreland, for help in annotating the work. Mr Basil Gray, of the British Museum, kindly assisted in selecting a suitable portrait of Jahāngīr; and the officials of the Coin Department were good enough to make up the plate of coins and arrange for the necessary photograph. To each and all the editor tenders his grateful thanks.

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THE OUTWARD VOYAGE



# THE JOURNAL of CAPTAIN NICHOLAS DOWNTON

EXTRACTS of the JOURNALL of CAPTAIN  
NICHOLAS DOWNTON, *who was employed chiefe  
commander in the Second Voyage set forth for the  
Joyned Stockes in the East-Indies, by the Governour,  
Deputie, and Committees of that Societie. Wherein is  
related their happie successe against the Vice-Roy and  
all the Indian sea forces of the Portugalls, by force and  
cunning attempting their destruction*<sup>1</sup>.

THE SHIPPES employed were the *New Yeeres Gift*, admirall, of burthen sixe hundred and fiftie tunnes: the *Hector*, vice-admirall, of five hundred tunnes; the *Merchants Hope*, of three hundred tunnes: and the *Salomon*, of two hundred tunnes. Master William Edwards was lieutenant and cape merchant, and commander of the *Hector*; Master Nicholas Ensworth, cape merchant and commander of the *Merchants Hope*; Master Thomas Elkington, cape merchant and commander of the *Salomon*; Master Peter Rogers, minister; Martin Pring, Arthur Spaight, Matthew Molineux and Hugh Bennet, masters of the foure shippes, assisted with divers mates.

The first of March 1613 [i.e. 1614] we set saile. On Wednesday, the fifteenth of June 1614, we anchored in the road of Saldania<sup>2</sup> and were welcommed with a great storm. John Barter, by a long fever bereaved of his understanding, was suddenly missing, and by former speeches of his it seemed that he made himselfe away whiles every one was busie in mooring the ship and none looking after him.

The sixteenth, wee got all in readinesse for crecting our tents, which was that day effected and a guard placed for their reliefe.

<sup>1</sup> From *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. I, p. 500.

<sup>2</sup> Table Bay.

On the seventeenth, we landed halfe our caske[s] to be trimmed and seasoned. Choree the Saldanian<sup>1</sup> presented me with a young steere.

The eighteenth, we landed more of our beere caske[s] to be washed, trimmed and seasoned, and supplied the wants of our men labouring about our boates. Also this day (Choree) the Saldanian departed from us, carrying with him his copper armour and javelin, with all things belonging to him, promising to come againe to us the third day after; but he never came againe.

The nine and twentieth, I sent George Downeton<sup>2</sup> on land to observe both the latitude and variation of this place, in regard of the great difference in our variations wee had found betweene my former voyage in the *Peppercorne* and this present voyage. The latitude he found was thirtie foure degrees and no odde minutes<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> When Gabriel Towerson, captain of the *Hector*, was leaving Table Bay for England in May 1613, he carried off two natives who had come aboard his ship. 'These poor wretches being thus brought away, very much against both their munds, one of them (merely out of extreme sullenness, though he was very well used) died shortly after they put to sea. The other, who call'd himself Cooree, lived, and was brought to London and there kept, for the space of six months, in Sir Thomas Smith's house (then Governor of the East-India Company), where he had good diet, good cloaths, good lodging, with all other fitting accommodations. . . . He had to his good entertainment made for him a chain of bright brass, an armour (breast, back, and headpiece) with a buckler, all of brass, his beloved metal. Yet all this contented him not, for never any seemed to be more weary of ill usage than he was of courtesies; none ever more desirous to return home to his country than he; for when he had learned a little of our language, he would daily lie upon the ground and cry very often thus in broken English: "Coree home go, Souldania go, home go." And not long after, when he had his desire and was returned home, he had no sooner set footing on his own shore but presently he threw away his cloaths, his linen, with all other covering, and got his sheeps skins upon his back, guts about his neck, and such a perfum'd cap as befoie we named, upon his head. . . . It had been well if he had not seen England; for, as he discovered nothing to us, so certainly, when he came home, he told his countrymen (having doubtless observed so much here) that brass was but a base and cheap commodity in England; and happily [i.e. haply] we had so well stored them with that metal before, that we had never after such a free exchange of our brass and iron for their cattle' (Terry's *Voyage*, ed. 1777, p. 19).

Coree's avoidance of the ships was natural, for he evidently feared lest he should be again kidnapped at their departure. When, however, the next fleet arrived from England, he went down to meet it and was very friendly. He even talked of paying another visit to London; but this intention was never carried out (Terry, *ut supra*; Peyton, in *Purchas*, vol. 1, p. 528).

<sup>2</sup> Downton's only son. He had been with his father in the Sixth Voyage, probably in the capacity of a personal attendant.

<sup>3</sup> Really 33° 53' S.



and the variation one degree and fortie five minutes by an azimuth, being westerly variation, whereas for the most part all formerly have made easterly variation. This night wee dissolved our tents and brought all our things aboard, and made readie our ship against the next day to depart, which we did accordingly.

The sixt of August we came to an anchor in the Bay of Saint Augustine<sup>1</sup>, in Saint Laurence Iland. But on sight of our comming the inhabitants abandoned the place, that wee could have no speech with them. We cut straight timber for divers uses, and afterwards wee got some refreshing of them. On the twelfth we set saile.

The ninth of September wee anchored in the Bay of Delisa in Socotora<sup>2</sup>. The next day wee went on shore to salute the King, who was readie with his troupe to give me entertainment, and told me of the warres at present in India, the Mogoll and Kings of Decanie joyning to roote the Portugals out of the countrey. The reason whereof was their taking of a shippe<sup>3</sup> which came from Jedda in the Red Sea, wherein was three millions of treasure<sup>4</sup>. Hee also informed mee of Captaine Bests two great fights with the Portugals, with other newes of those parts. Heere I procured what refreshing wee could get, and bought of the King alloes two thousand seven hundred twentie two pounds; and on the fourteenth departed<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On the south-west coast of Madagascar (then known as the Island of St Lawrence), in lat. 23° 28' S. It was a favourite port of call in the early voyages.

The journal in *Marine Records*, vol. x, adds the following particulars: 'This sixth day, at five a clock at night, we anchored in the Bay of St. Augustin, with the *New Years Gift*, *Hector* and *Hope*; but the *Sallomon*, being the leewardmost of all, was forced to plie to the southwards untill the seventh day [at] nine a clocke. And after noone the Gennerall, accompanied with Master Ensworth, Master Elkinton and divers others, went on land.'

<sup>2</sup> The island of Sokotra (now a British protectorate) lies about 130 miles east of Cape Guardafui. The roadstead of Delaisha and Tamrida, the chief town, are both on the northern side. For an excellent description of the present state of the island see an article by Sir Ernest Bennett, M.P., in the National Labour Organization's *News Letter* of 18 June 1938.

<sup>3</sup> 'This ship was the *Hassanie*' (marginal note). This is an error. The ship was the *Rahmi*.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably 3,000,000 *mahmûdis* is meant (roughly, 150,000*l.*). Other estimates varied from 70,000*l.* to 200,000*l.*

<sup>5</sup> '[The] 25 day [of September], in the morning we discried a saill to leewards. Thus day we had a comunion. And after noone I sent my pinace

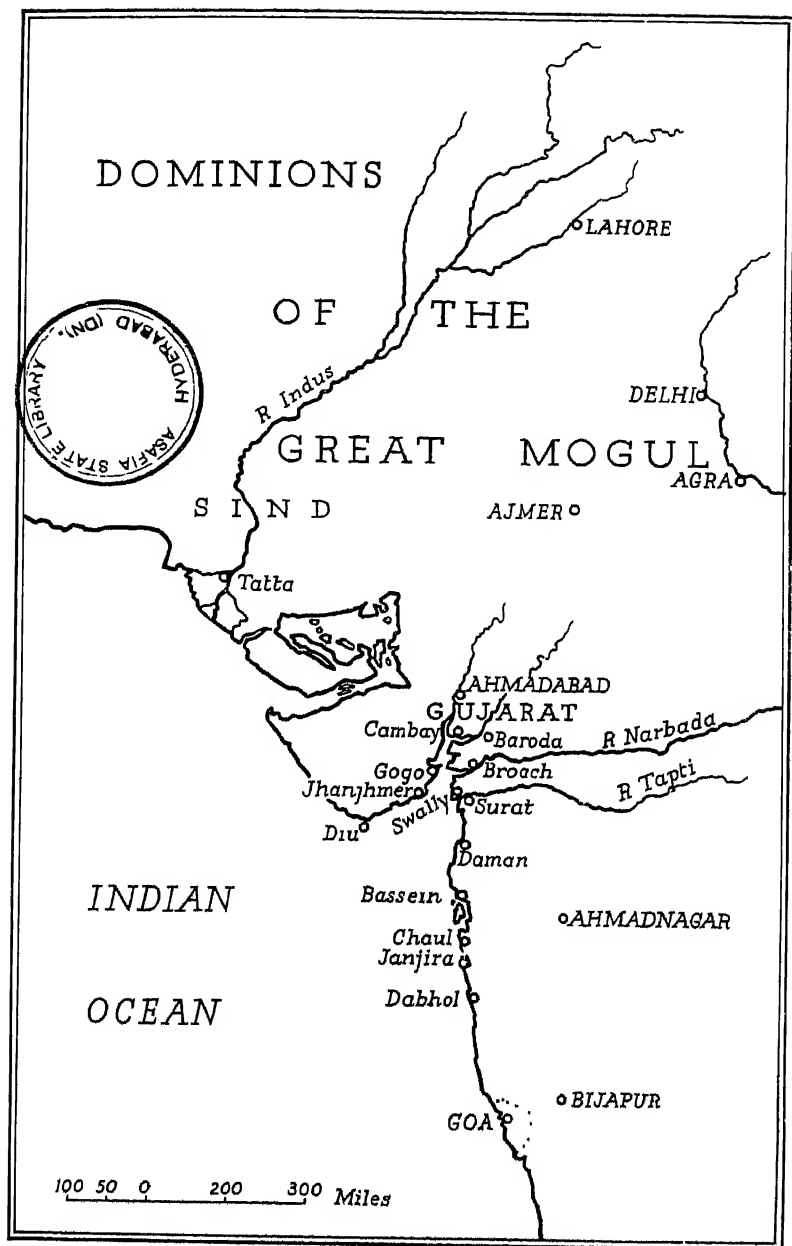
The second of October we had sight of land, being on the coast of Decany neere Dabul. Wee found great hinderance, till by observation we were taught to stay the ebbes and ply the flouds<sup>1</sup>.

The twelfth we againe weighed, and plyed the flouds and anchored the ebbes till the fourteenth day in the evening, and then anchored two miles and an halfe short of the Barre, where presently came a fleet of frigats, being fourteen saile, and anchored neere us, discovering themselves by their lights, being darke; but seeing our readinesse by the lights out of our ports durst come no neere unto us, so we rid quietly all night.

to speake with that sail; who fownd her to be a Guzerat, who gave us information that the Mogull had beseiged Damon and Diu and that the Decans [i.e. the Ahmadnagar forces] had taken both the townes of Chawle, onely the fortres doth still hold out. But this was 7 months agoe, befor this shipp went into the Red Sea And that the Mogull, the Decans and Mallabars were agreed together utterly to extirpate and roote out the Portugalls out of their cuntry, and that the Portugals had not bin at Cambaya this 12 months; that the Jesuits in the Mogull dominions were by the Mogulls comaundment laid hold on, to have bin put to death, but that Mucrab Chaun begged them, and keepeth them in his campe at the seige of Damon till the Portugales repay the 3 millions of treasure taken in a shipp that came from Jedda in the Red Sea, or else thay shall bee putt to death according to the Kings former comaundment. . . That none of the Indian shippes have now any cartas [i.e. pass] from the Portugales; yet the Dabull men with their two great shippes have this yeer bin in the Red Sea. That the Mallabars have 30 frigats attending before their fortres of Chaull, and 60 more rangeing to and againe amongst the coast, to keep that the Portugalls have noe supply of victuals brought them' (Downton in *Marine Records*, vol. x).

<sup>1</sup> 'The 7th day [of October] at 10 a clock afore noon there came a small boat of[f] unto us from the captain of the fort of Gingere Rashpor [i.e. Janjira, 44 miles S. of Bombay] and presented mee with some plantanes, orranges, watermillions, sugar canes and coconuts, and in her a Said or preest, accompanied with some 3 or 4 souldiers; inviteing us to their port, and that they would buy all our swordblades and peeces [i.e. muskets] that we had to sell. But it being a matter of soe small import, I answered them that I was bound to Surat and might not soe overslipp the time of getting thither. Alsoe they brought mee a complementall letter from the said captain of the fort. Allsoe they informed us that the Mogull had beseiged Damon and Diu, and that the Decans have beseedged the Bazainn [i.e. Bassein], and had taken the townes of Chaull and beseedged the castle; and that within theise 14 days the Portugals had burnt the *Cadra* of Dabull as she rid before the castle of Chaull. I gave unto every of these men an English knife, and unto the captain of the fort I sent 2 streight swordblades and 2 knives, and unto [the] Said I gave one swordblade' (Downton in *Marine Records*, vol. x).

'Said' (Arabic *sayyid*) is a title given to a man supposed to be a descendant of Husain, the elder grandson of Muhammad. For copies of Downton's letters to the commander of the fort and to Malik Ambar, generalissimo of the Ahmadnagar kingdom, see *Factory Records, Miscell.*, vol. 25, pp. 59, 60.



WESTERN INDIA



The fifteenth, early in the morning, we weighed with the land-turne<sup>1</sup>, and approching somewhat neere them they also weighed and stood to the southwards, and wee held on our course by the Barre towards South Swally, where soone after we arrived, after much striving against contrary winds. As soone as I anchored, I sent Master Molineux in his pinnasse, and Master Spooner and Samuell Squire<sup>2</sup> in my gellywatte<sup>3</sup> to sound the depths within the sands. Master Molineux tooke a channel in which in our former voyage we had but five foot at low water, but now found three fathomes water; and Master Spooner found that, where our boats could not passe formerly by reason of shoalds, he had now seven and eight foot water. In the afternoone I, seeing people ashoare, sent my pinnasse to them, supposing some of our merchants had beene come from Surat, but found otherwise to be some people of Cogenozan<sup>4</sup> sent downe to discover what nation we were, two of which came aboard to me, by whom I understood further of their warres with the Portugals; they besieged Damon and Diu, and that Mocrib Can was Generall of the Mogols forces against Damon, and also, to my grieve, I understood that he was Governour, and as Vice-roy not onely over Surat but also over all the countrey neere about it; I esteeming him to bee the greatest adversary to our nation, and one that most favoured the Portugals. This was my settled conceit by former experience. I understood of the health of Master Aldworth and the rest, to whom I writ to hasten his presence, and sent it away by Baly Ball<sup>5</sup>, together with the other servants of Cogenozan.

The sixteenth, in the morning early I sent my purser and pinnasse on land to buy such commodities as I supposed might be brought; who about ten a clocke, without buying any thing for

<sup>1</sup> The morning breeze off the land.

<sup>2</sup> Spooner had served with Martin Pring before being engaged by the Company as a master's mate. Squire, also a master's mate, had previously served in the Sixth Voyage.

<sup>3</sup> A small boat, often carried across the stern of the ship. The origin of the name is obscure, but it appears to be identical with 'jolywat' (which is found as early as 1495-7), and it was probably the ancestor of the more familiar 'jollyboat.' The suggestion that it was derived from 'gallivat' (a large row-boat used on the west coast of India) may be rejected without hesitation.

<sup>4</sup> Khwāja Nizām, Governor of Surat.

<sup>5</sup> Bailey Ball had been steward of the *Peppercorn* in the Sixth Voyage, and was now a factor.

our turne, returned with Master Aldworth, our chiefe merchant at Surat, and in his company one Richard Steele, who came by land from Aleppo to Surat. Master Aldworth strived to perswade me that Mocrib Can the Nabob was our friend, and that now was the best time, by reason of their warres (with the Portugals), for us to obtaine good trade and all priviledges that in reason wee could demand; and for that both he and all the countrey people did so much rejoyce at our comming, therefore of necessitie could not but give us royall entertainment. I liking all their hopefull words, yet ever wishing some other in his place, and that Mocrib Can had beene further away, of whom I rested still in doubt that we should have no free trade but according to his accustomed manner, and to see and to be privie to all that ever past, and restraine all others, which then I tooke to bee an injurie forced by him to crosse us, and not by the direction of the King; which in time, though too late, we were better advised. And notwithstanding the remembrance of his name given him by the King, Mocrib, which is as much as his owne bowels<sup>1</sup>, and Chan, which is as much as great lord, yet I was too much deluded, by being perswaded that his state in favor of the King stood tottering, and might easily be made subject to any disgrace by any complaint of things done contrary to the will or humour of the King; which made us somewhat too bold, and thereby prejudice to our businesse, when we found him opposite to our wils and, as wee thought, contrary to reason. I inquiring of the state of our businesse and the health of our people, Master Aldworth informed that Paul Canning and divers others were long since dead, and that Thomas Kerridge had long since resided at court in his roome, and that there was no more factors but onely himselfe and William Bedulph at Surat<sup>2</sup>.

The seventeenth, in the morning, I called a councell to advise of all things heere to bee effected, and who fittest to send to Agra to remayne as liedger<sup>3</sup> there; and then entring into the sixe

<sup>1</sup> The root-meaning of 'mukarrab' is 'close intimacy'; see the *Tūẓuk*, vol. I, p. 27, where Jahāngīr seems to connect the title with the confidential relations that subsisted between them before his accession to the throne.

<sup>2</sup> For Aldworth, Canning and Kerridge see *Best*, passim. William Biddulph had gone out as a factor in Best's fleet, and had been left at Surat.

<sup>3</sup> Resident.

interrogatory articles included in the second article of our commission, requiring Master Aldworths direct answer to every question should be demanded<sup>1</sup>.

The first, in what favour Paul Canning was with the Emperour and his Councell, and how he carried himselfe in the businesse at court that was committed unto him. Hee answered that at his first comming to court hee was well respected by the Emperour, untill such time as the Jesuites made knowne he was a merchant and not sent immediately from the King; but afterwards he was neglected, as himself complained. And for his carriage there, Master Aldworth saith that, for any thing he knoweth, it was sufficient and well.

The third then demanding whether needfull to maintaine one as lieder at court, his answer was, not onely necessarie, but also by the King required, that one of our nation doe reside there, and therefore fitting to be a man of good respect for preventing and righting any wrongs that may be offered by the Jesuites our adversaries, as also by his direction may stand in great stead for the buying or selling of commodities.

The sixth, concerning the charge of him that should reside at court, hee saith to bee about three hundred pounds per annum, by Paul Cannings estimate; but some-while after, when his writings came to be searched, his estimate is found to be five, sixe or seven hundred pounds per annum.

Question being made<sup>2</sup> whether it were fit Master Edwards should proceed under the title of a merchant, according to the strictnesse of the Companies commission, his opinion was, by Master Cannings experience, that then he would not be respected by the King.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning, Cogenozan came downe to the water-side with a great traine,<sup>3</sup> as their manner is, resting himselfe in my tent till my landing; unto whom I repaired ashore, accompanied with all the merchants and a good guard of halberts, shot and pike, I having a coach to carrie me up

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of the proceedings see *infra*, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> At a subsequent consultation, held on the following day (see p. 86).

<sup>3</sup> His delay is stated by Mallory (*Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 43) to have been due to the *Ramazân* fast.

from the boat to a place neere the tent. And at the instant when I alighted from the coach he came forth of the tent, addressing himselfe to meete mee, and after salutations returned into the tent and sate downe. And before any other conference began, he was let to know that there was a present to be delivered him for the Nabob, which was presently brought in, viz. one case with sixe knives, two paire of knives, sixe sword blades, sixe Spanish pikes, one combe-case, one looking glasse, one picture of Mars and Venus, one picture of Paris in judgement, two Muscovie hides, and one great gilded case of bottles full of rich and strong waters. Then for himselfe I caused a present to bee delivered him, which was six knives in single sheathes, foure sword blades, two pikes, one combe-case, one looking-glasse, one picture of Moses, one case of bottles. In regard of the promise of the Nabob to our people that, what Cogenozan should do, he would performe, I therefore moved for the inlarging of our priviledges, for the lessening of our custom, especially at Baroch [Broach]; to have a bazar or market by the waterside; that we might buy beef for the peoples eating (in regard that other flesh was not good for them) according to the King's firma [*farmān*] given. His answer was that, if I would assist them against the Portugals, the Nabob would do us all the favour that in his power lyeth; but for the custome of Baroch it was out of his power, for the King had let it to another by rent, and could not be holpen. A bazar we should have; but for bullocks and kine, the King had granted his firma to the Banians [Hindus] for a mightie summe yeerely to save their lives. In summe, wee found nothing that he had power to grant us; yet willing to leave mee in content, wishing that I would send some of my merchants along with him to the Nabob, that our businesse on both sides might bee considered on, and receive answeres accordingly from each other. I sent along with him Master Aldworth, Master Ensworth (who desired to goe up because he was not well), Master Dodsworth, Master Mitford<sup>1</sup> and others; which when they had accesse to the Nabob two or three dayes after, he would know againe their demand, which was as aforesaid. Then he desired to know if we would goe with our

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Mitford was one of the factors brought out in Downton's fleet. He went home in the *Globe* in March 1617.



ships to fight against Damon for him, and then he would doe us any favour; but that was answered that we could in no wise avouch the doing thereof, for that there was peace betweene our King and the King of Spaine. Then he demanded if we would goe to the Barre and ride there, and fight with them that should come to prejudice them. That we could neither covenant to doe, for it was a breach of the peace betweene our two Kings, as aforesaid. Then he answered that, if we would doe nothing for him, he would doe nothing for us. Divers of the principall merchants of the towne came to move our merchants that I might give way to the Nabob his reasonable request, and though I did grant for satisfying his minde, yet I might doe what I list, and that they all knew the frigats might for all my riding at the Barre come in and out on each side me. Answer was returned it was unfit for me to halt, but whatsoever I promised I must maintaine, though it were to the losse of my life and all under my command, and that I would not be hired to fight with the Portugals, which is contrary to my kings commission (unlesse they gave me first cause), not for the world; neither would I bee withheld from fighting with them if they provoked me, not for his [i.e. its] wealth; which difference it seemes he tooke small notice of. But that we refused to fulfill his desire he was much moved, and in all things crost our proceedings all that he might, insomuch that he had almost queld all former conceived hopes of happie commerce in this place. Continually devising what to doe, or what course to take, this meanes failing us, as I see no likelihood to the contrary, I made inquis[iti]on of Gengomar and Castelletta<sup>1</sup>, also of Gogo<sup>2</sup>, but could heare small encourage-[me]nt for transportation to seeke better dealing. So with doubts wee rested perplexed a long while, yet returning to our businesse at the shippes.

<sup>1</sup> On a subsequent page these two names are treated as synonymous, one being evidently the Indian, and the other the Portuguese, appellation. This enables us to make an identification which was not possible when dealing with Best's visit to the place (p. 128). It is apparently Jhānjhmer, on the Kāthiāwār side of the Gulf of Cambay, in lat. 21° 10' N., about 3 miles southwest of the Gopnath Temple. The remains of the fort are still visible.

<sup>2</sup> Gogo (Gogha) is higher up (21° 39') on the same coast. It has an excellent anchorage, and at this time it was rapidly rising into importance, owing to the silting up of the port of Cambay, on the other side of the Gulf.

The seven and twentieth, in the morning, Nicholas Ufflet<sup>1</sup>, going ashoare, found all the people of Swally departed thence in the night. He demanding the reason, they told him that the Nabob had expres[s]ly commanded them so to doe, as also the people from the tents. Whereupon hee inquiring further thereof, was certified that our merchants were stayed at Surat, and that, at[t]empting to passe over the bridge<sup>2</sup>, they were perforce withheld and received some store of blowes by the guard thereto appointed by the Nabob; with whom, in company to attend upon them, the gunners boy and his companion (formerly supposed to have beene runne away) were also well beaten and withheld as the rest.

The one and thirtieth, we began to take in fresh water, because our stay heere was so uncertaine, not knowing how suddenly our departure might bee. This day Thomas Smith, the masters boy, being swimming about the ship, had most of the outside of his thigh bitten away by a great fish<sup>3</sup>, which pulled him under the water; yet he comming up againe swamme to the shippe side and got up to the bend, where as soone as he was come up he presently sounded [i.e. swooned]. Then the chirurghion brought him into the gunners roome to see what might be done for his recoverie; but the issue of bloud had beene so great that they could not revive him, but presently dyed, and towards night was buried ashoare.

The second of November, towards night, Master Aldworth and Master Elkinton came downe from Surat, where they had left Master Ensworth very sicke. They declared unto me their proceedings with the Nabob as formerly, and of their reconciliation, with large promises of future good respect, with free trade throughout all their countries. This hard measure hitherto

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Ufflet went out as an attendant upon Hawkins and was with him until his death. On his return to England, Ufflet was engaged by the Company as a factor and sent out again with Downton. For a notice of him see *Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> There was no bridge over the river at Surat at this period; but since Dodsworth uses the same expression (p. 90) I can only conclude that it is employed in the sense of 'ferry' or 'river-crossing.' Apparently the English were stopped at the landing-place, when seeking to take boat for the other side.

<sup>3</sup> Sharks are common along the Indian littoral.

offered us by the Nabob I cannot attribute unto any hatred<sup>1</sup>, ill will borne to our nation, but his owne doubt and feare of us<sup>2</sup>. At least I should joyne with the Portugals against him; which feare was the more increased in him in that I would not agree to fight against Damon. And his suspition and doubt was the more increased by a knavish device in the subtile and lying Jesuites, who tooke occasion by my denyall, voluntarily without cause to fight against the Portugals at Damon or otherwise. They pretended a letter from the Viceroy, to give notice to the Nabob, that unlesse he made peace with them, that both he and the English his friends should joyne together and come against Surat; which devilish device did us much hinderance in our businesse, by the Nabobs continuall doubt which he made of our friendship towards them. And besides, unfortunately, by their extreame unkind usage, Master Aldworth, in the middest of his haste, and thinking to qualifie their rigorous courses, and yet altogether ignorant of the practice of the Jesuites, in threatning-wise wisht them to take heed that by their ill usage of us they doe not force us to joyne with the Portugals against them; which proved a kind of confirming the Jesuits former report from the Viceroy as altogether making against us. Likewise hee forbade all trade with our people aboard; which at first wee likewise thought had proceeded out of his troublesome humour to crosse us, but afterwards we were advised the contrary by Thomas Kerridge his letter<sup>1</sup>, who declared that he and all sea-port governours had expresse commandement from the Mogoll not to suffer any trade with us till they had made choise of all strange things that we bring, and they to buy them for the Kings use and to send it unto him.

The third, I called a councell concerning our businesse, viz. how farre wee might proceed in their aide against the Portugals, and examined our commission in that point; also we appointed the merchants for the severall places of imployment, as well those that were to stay heere as those also that were to proceed on the voyage<sup>2</sup>. The goods that were at Surat of the Twelfth Voyage came aboard, which was of indico sixtie bales and cotton yarne eleven packes.

<sup>1</sup> See *Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.* p. 133, and *infra*, p. 93.

The sixteenth, whereas my desire was to have beene ashoare amongst our merchants, to have borne some stroke in the ordering of our businesse at Surat, and the rather considering the turbulent, head-strong, and haughtie spirit of ( )<sup>1</sup>, ever striving to sway all things according to his owne will, and distastful to others which without private respect aymed at the common good, whose better discretion hath beene inured to more humilitie. But the estate of our businesse so uncertaine, partly by the uncertainty of the Nabob and people here, and partly in regard of the Portugals (which we daily doe heare are arming [against] us): besides, I understand the Nabob makes question of restitution of the goods taken by Sir Henrie Middleton in the Red Sea (at under rates, as they say, though I know they had goods for goods to a halfe pennie); yet, not knowing what might come of it, I thought best to keepe myselfe neerest my charge, and referred all things ashoare to the care of such merchants in generall as were of my councell, and in whom for most part I had constant affiance.

The two and twentieth, I finished my letters for Persia, viz. one for the Company<sup>2</sup>, one for Sir Robert Sherley<sup>3</sup>, and another for advice to Richard Steele.

The three and twentieth, Lacandas [Lakhan Dās] the Banian came downe with newes of some discontent or hard speeches that had past betweene the Nabob and the merchants, but now that they were reconciled and friends; the cause was for that Master Edwards would not let him see the presents, which at last he was driven to yeeld to. All the chiefe merchants wrote unto me severally that there was a certaine report that the Vice-roy was arming against us. It pleased God to call to his mercie Master Ensworth and Timothy Wood, both in an houre<sup>4</sup>. John Oxwicke, Robert Young, and Esay Butt<sup>5</sup> set forwards to provide such clothes and cotton yarne as wee formerly agreed on.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Edwards. Purchas evidently thought it best to omit the name.

<sup>2</sup> Printed on a later page.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in *Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> See *Letters Received*, vol. II, pp. 156, 213, 236, 265; also Farewell's narrative, *infra*.

<sup>5</sup> Oxwick had come out in the fleet as a factor (for a notice of him see *Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 307). Robert Young was also a newcomer. Esau Butt had been steward's mate in the *Hector* in a previous voyage (*Supplementary Calendar*, p. 33), and was now a factor.

The five and twentieth, Master Edwards wrote me of the comming of three great men with seven firmanes from the Mogore, in whose presence the Nabob bestowed on him eight hundred and fifty mamudies<sup>1</sup>, ten fine baftas<sup>2</sup>, thirtie topseeles<sup>3</sup> and thirtie allizaes<sup>4</sup>; he further gave to Master Elkington and Master Dodsworth ten topseeles, and a cloke [i.e. a dress of honour] to Master Aldworth and another to Master Elkington, Master Dodsworth having had one before; he promised free trade in all places under his command and good refreshing for our people aboard.

The seven and twentieth, John Crowther<sup>5</sup> came from Surat, who advised mee that the chiefe merchants had chosen him to accompany Richard Steele into Persia, and therefore came to take his leave of me and to fetch his things from aboard. This day Master Edwards wrote to mee by Edmond Aspinol<sup>6</sup> for fiftie elephants teeth<sup>7</sup>, and indifferently chosen in their size and bignesse, for there was a Banian merchant in price for them all if they could agree; which teeth the same day were sent up to him.

The sixth of December, the Nabob Mocrib Chan seemed now to be ashamed, for that he had not since my arrivall heere shewed me the least taste of courtesie; and therefore, beeing desirous to excuse himselfe, intreated Master Elkington to accompany aboard the great Banian that brought [bought?] our teeth, and Lacandas, the Banian merchant of the juncke of the King of Cushan<sup>8</sup>, whom he made choice of and entertayned (by reason of his former familiaritie with our people) to buy among them such commodities as they had to sell, viz. sword blades, knives, looking-glasses. By them he sent me a present of two corge<sup>9</sup> of course

<sup>1</sup> The *mahmūdi*, a small silver coin, worth 11d. or 12d., was the principal local currency. For a specimen see the plate of coins.

<sup>2</sup> These were dyed calicoes, sold in the piece.

<sup>3</sup> Striped stuffs of silk and cotton mixed.

<sup>4</sup> *Allejas* were also striped silky stuffs.

<sup>5</sup> Had come out with Downton as a factor. For his previous history see *Supplementary Calendar*, p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> Aspinall was another newcomer.

<sup>7</sup> Tusks of ivory.

<sup>8</sup> Kishin, a small state on the southern coast of Arabia, a little to the west of Cape Fartāk. Its Sultan was overlord of Sokotra, and this constituted a link with the English, who frequently visited that island.

<sup>9</sup> A bundle, usually of twenty pieces; hence the name (Hind. *kori*, a score).

baftas, ten fine baftas, tenne topseeles, ten cuttonies<sup>1</sup> and three quilts; certifying mee that the Nabob was minded to come downe to see me within two or three dayes at the most. At their going ashoare I gave them five great shot. They told me that the Nabob heard from Goa that for certaine the Viceroy was preparing to come against us with all the force hee could make to fight with us; likewise that the Nabob requested me that I would waft [i.e. convoy] a ship or two of his off the coast for two or three dayes, being bound for the Red Sea. But I answered that, having once put off from the coast, the wind being adverse, I could not recover it againe; but if he would further our dispatch, that we might be readie in convenient time, then would I doe anything reasonable.

The ninth, the Nabobs sonne came to the waterside, but would not come aboard; whereupon I went ashoare to him, who against my landing sent a horse to fetch mee. Hee willed mee to sit downe upon the mount with him, which I did. Then hee commanded part of his horsemen to shew me some pleasure upon the sands by warlike chasing each other, after the manner of Decanie, from whence they were. Then he desired to heare some ordnance goe off, and I gave him eleven shot. Hee at present would drinke no wine, but being departed hee sent for it and for a fowling peece which he found in the hands of one of our people; both which I sent him, with a bowle to drinke his wine.

The sixteenth, Master Elkington wrote me that the Nabob told him that the Portugall frigats had burnt Gogo, with many gonges [*ganj*] or villages thereabouts, and tenne great ships, one whereof was the *Rehemee* [*Rahīmi*], and one hundred and twentie small vessels, and that he was displeased at me for not shooting at them when they past by us, which did renue his suspition of our friendship with the Portugals; to all which Master Elkington answered him, yet he could not rest satisfied.

The three and twentieth<sup>2</sup>, came two boates more for lead. This day wee saw twentie two [Portuguese] frigats, who in the night

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Uffet defines these as half cotton, half silk, and Alexander Hamilton says much the same. Apparently they were chiefly used for quilts (*Supplementary Calendar*, no. 293).

<sup>2</sup> According to Monden, the fleet had gone down to the mouth of the Tapti on 19 Dec.

came to anchor betweene us and the rivers mouth, where they roade most part of the next day.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning we saw foure boates comming downe the river towards us, who seeing the frigats returned, two frigats chasing them up the river; but seeing they could not fetch them up, went ashoare and fired two or three poore houses and tooke away two or three head of cattell, and so returned backe to their company, who in the afternoone went up into the river together.

The five and twentieth, in the morning early, we saw five or sixe frigats under saile an houre or two; after, we perceived a small boat under saile standing towards us, but was presently chased by two frigats. The men in the small boat runne her aground and forsooke her, so that the frigats could not float where she lay, the tyde ebbing so fast; therefore they departed without doing any further harme unto her.

The sixe and twentieth, in the morning, I sent the *Hope* to the northwards a good way from the rest of the fleet, to see if the Portugals would charge upon her.

The seven and twentieth, early in the morning, the frigats came and made a bravado before our ship, and then before the *Salomon*, which was next unto us, and from her to the *Hope* which roade a great way from us; who drove directly upon her with all their men stowed, not a man to be seene. The master twice hailed them, but they would not speake, whereupon they let flye at them with their bow-pieces, having no other to ply upon them, which made them with some losse to depart; the master doubting that if hee had not shot they would have boarded him or mischieved him by fire, they comming upon the advantage both of winde and tyde that none of the rest of the ships could come to the rescue, and in such sort right ahead that hardly can he traverse any piece of ordnance at them. In the afternoone I sent the *Salomon* to accompany the *Hope*, who went to the northwards of her and made five or sixe shot at the frigats, who roade at anchor hard by the *Hope*. But we did not perceive any hurt she did them; wherefore I commanded my gunner to shoot a peece to warne them to give over; whereupon the *Salomon* stood in againe and came to anchor.

The eight and twentieth, in the morning, I went in the pin-nasse aboard the *Hope* and *Salomon* to understand the occasions of their shooting. And the Portugals, seeing our boates passe to and againe, removed in the afternoone and roade a little without us to cut off all intercourse. In the meane time came the former boat (which was chased ashoare) aboard the *Gift* and brought some letters from Master Elkington. The master sent the bearer with the letters to mee in the *Hope*, where having answered Master Elkingtons letter, I sent him backe againe to the *Gift* to goe thence in the night to Surat; but as the gelliwat returned the frigats chased her, which I perceiving caused to weave [i.e. wave] to the gelliwat to returne; which they not seeing held on her way. But the frigats held her so close that they were within shot of her and made one faire shot at her; and had not the *Gift* let slip one cable and veered another and plyed upon them with her ordnance, it would have gone hard with them; which made them give over the chase, not without some damage. And late in the night, upon the tyde of ebbe, I commanded the *Hope* and *Salomon* to set saile and fall neerer to the other ships; and then I went aboard the *Gift*.

The nine and twentieth, I perceiving that my riding was of no availle to keepe the frigats out of the river, because they could passe to and fro over the sands, where wanted water for my ships to swimme, and that no boates durst come to us to fetch our goods for feare of the frigats, neither could I heare from our friends ashoare how all things past, therefore I set saile for Swally; but being but little wind and calme, it was the next day before we arrived there.

The fourteenth of Januarie, we heard of the approach of many frigats; which roade at the Barre till next day within night, and then in the darke came from thence and roade within shot of us all night till the morning, when they weighed and went to the southwards; whom I thought were the Mallabars that the Nabob promised formerly to send mee, and therefore put forth a flagge of truce and sent Master Spooner, one of the masters mates, towards them with the gelliwat, and appointed him to have an eye backe to our signes that wee would make if we mistrusted anything. I, seeing the gelliwat so neere and no shew of friendship



from them in answer of ours, put forth my flag, which before was taken in, and shot a peece of ordnance for a signe to my boat to come aboard; which presently upon sight thereof shee did; who was not scarce aboard when our centinell from topmasthead discryed another fleete of frigats, who afterwards met together at the Barre, and went altogether into the river; whereby I perceived they were Portugals, and was glad that our men and boat so well escaped their hands. I, thinking these frigats were fore-runners of greater forces, caused all the decks to be cleered and the ordnance freed, and all things else fitting both for the ordnance, shot and barracadoes to bee in a readinesse.

The seventeenth, in the night the frigats came all forth of the river, they beeing in the morning at the point of the Barre.

The eighteenth, there came to the waterside Maugie<sup>1</sup>, the Banian captaine formerly named, with another great man, the sonne of Clych Caun<sup>2</sup>, to whom I went ashoare; whither not long after word was brought me from aboard that they discryed afarre off a fleete of ships looming very bigge, which ashoare we could not see by reason of the lownesse of the place. And after leave taken on both sides, he departed, and I returned aboard, causing all things to be set in a readinesse; which was speedily performed. Towards night we made them to be sixe gallions and three lesser shippes, besides the sixtie former frigats, the two gallies being not yet come. The tide being spent, they anchored till the next day.

The nineteenth, they plyed up to the entrance of our new channell, where they came to an anchor, and the two gallies came up to them; where one of the great ships beeing too forward came too neare the sands and touched, but soone got off againe. The Nabob sent the Sabandar<sup>3</sup> and divers other principall men of the towne to the Viceroy with a present of great provisions; they making some treaty of peace, but brake off, effecting nothing, great policie on both sides being used; on the Nabobs

<sup>1</sup> Probably a misprint for 'Mangie', i.e. Manji.

<sup>2</sup> Kiltj Khān, who had recently died, was one of Jahāngīr's chief officers. He had been in turn Viceroy of Gujarāt, Governor of Lahore, and Governor of Kabul. The name of his son was Chīn Kiltj. Both are mentioned by Hawkins (*Early Travels*, pp. 98, 99).

<sup>3</sup> The *Shāhbandar* (port officer) was Khwāja Alp.

side to the increase of my griefe, for he and all the countrey in generall despaired of my being able to withstand so great forces and began to make preparative beforehand to claw [i.e. propitiate] the Viceroy with presents, for I once overthrowne, his turne had come next to endure a great assault or to make such peace as the enemy desired. For peace with them was it that stood with the Viceroyes policie most to desire, for the setting trade afoote between them. On the other side, the Viceroy, seeing the tractablenesse of the Nabob and his seeming desire to make peace, for the present set light of it, supposing to have made it with great royalty and profit for his owne part after he had overthrowne us, which he made no doubt easily to accomplish; which once performed he expected greater presents and great submission on their parts to him, being the conqueror. But it pleased God, who beheld the unjustnesse of his attempt, to turne it contrary to both their expectations; for the Viceroy failing of his purposes in attempt against me, seeing he could not recover so much as a boats thoule [i.e. rowlock] from me in all the time he spent with losses and disgrace about it, afterward was forced to revive the former neglected motion of peace with the Nabob; which Nabob, beeing strengthened with a moneths experience, notwithstanding all their bragging threats, seeing he was not able to remoove our small forces one foot out of their place, gave answer: Since with so great an army he could not prevaile against foure merchants ships, I wil make no peace with you; and so was the Viceroy frustrated of both his hopes.

Yet now after some digression returning againe to my daily businesse. Formerly, hearing of the Viceroyes forces to come, we imagined it would not bee so great as now by view it seemes; therefore high time to enter into best considerations how by Gods help to resist the same. The odds and advantages he had over me put me to my shifts in casting up all things that made against me; being overtopt by his forces, whom I esteemed furnished with the principall ships and meanes of India and people of greatest ranke and valour in these parts, in likelihood too hard for us when we should put into the deepe water; nay, I know not how to put into deepe water, but they alwayes ready to intercept, overcharge, or force me aground irrecoverable on one side or

other; my disadvantages so great in putting out, and their smaller vessels I knew might much with fireworkes or otherwise hazard us within at anchor where we rode, where I had hope their great ships through the shoaldnesse of water could not or durst not put in. The things with me to give me hope was my people (though much with death and sickenes shortned), all, from the highest to the lowest, seeme very couragious and comfortable, though (for the most) ignorant either of the danger or how to prevent it, yet pleasing to me to see their willingnesse. My care is not small, how to doe my best in maintaining the honour of my country, nor negligent in the memory of the estates and charge of my friends and employers in this journey, not onely for the hazard of this at present committed to my charge but also all hope of future times, if I should now be overthrowne, by reason the enemie in getting the upper hand of me would make his peace with these people upon what conditions he lust, to the expelling of our nation this countrey for ever. And what my care was for the safetie of my people I referre to the consideration of such fathers as are tender over the safetie of their obedient children. All this while my whole powers so kept in action that I found little time to converse or almost shew myselfe sensible of the dangers approaching; yea, ever as I could be solitary or free from others, very earnestly craving aide and assistance from the Lord of Hosts and from that mightie and mercifull God who hath manifold wayes formerly delivered me; often, I say, desiring His Majestie so to guide and direct me that I might omit nothing which might tend to the safety of my owne charge nor the danger of the enemy; and that God would grant my request I had a strong confidence, and the same againe often queld by the assembly of my manifold and grievous offences and but for Gods mercie sufficient to drowne the world; whereby forced afresh by prayer to peirce the heavens and flie unto God for aide against both inward and outward assaults, I so resolved by Gods assistance what to doe if my assistants, the masters of the ships, would yeeld thereunto, knowing, if we should receive a foile riding at our anchor, our disgrace will be greater and our enemies little abashed, but in mooving I might moove the Viceroy in greedinesse and pride to doe himselfe wrong against the sands;

hoping that that might bee an occasion whereby God might draw him to shorten his owne forces and so might open the way for our getting out amongst the rest, which would rather have been for a necessitie then any way hopefull; for at present our goods on the way and daily by some and some expected to come hither, and if once gotten out, unlesse it had pleased God to make us conquerours and drive the Viceroy cleane away, I could not returne into my place, where onely (and nowhere else) I could take in my lading; I esteeming the Viceroy to hold his honour in so high regard that he must have been dead before he would have given way. I also, though helplesse, remembred two great advantages the enemy had of me in this warre. Ever before my people came to fight they are first tired or halfe spent with the labour of the ship, as heaving at capstaine and getting up our anchors, setting of sailes and other labours, which greatly quells their courages, making them in hot countreys both weary and faint, and then of necessitie must become souldiours; whereas the Viceroy his souldiours come fresh to fight, beeing troubled with no labour, which is done by slaves and inferiour sea-people, which are never accompted companions of souldiours. Secondly, if the Viceroy loose many men in his ships he may be supplied againe out of his fresh supplies to be fetcht from their neerest townes by their frigats; whereas we could not have one man supplied, how many soever we should have slaine or disabled.

This present Thursday at night, I having no merchants at all aboard, but all employed in the country (besides those with Master Elkington at the house at Surat), I sent for all my masters to supper, with some mates, where (as the time served) I began speech of our present businesse, desiring every man to speake freely how he thought best for us to worke, considering to the present straight we seemed to be in; alleading my confidence to be (for all the bragging of these Portugals abounding in force) that God would not suffer their injurious attempts upon us, that have been tender not to wrong them in the East. I have had also a jealous conceit carried over mee by the Nabob and principals of the country, as though I had been confederate with the Portugals, for that I did not shoot at the saucy-governed bragging frigats. I found all the masters, to my hearts desire, willing and

tractable to whatsoever I should wish, and had some few speeches about our provident mooring, as also of the remooving somewhat lower downe. But ere long I let them know my conceit, desiring their free opinion therein; which was that, now our ships were as fit for fight as we could make them, and our danger by night, if we rode still (worke never so providently), to prevent is not small, therefore I thought fittest in the morning at low water to send downe one ship to ride, as we might have water enough at low water for all our ships, for then none can come to annoy her; which may prepare the Viceroyes mind to some attempt at high water; and as the flood comes, the other three should beare downe against the streame (the spring now neere the highest) to proove what attempt the Viceroy would give; to attend it and worke accordingly as we shall see reason, in hope that God will put designes into the mind of the Viceroy that he may commit some error to the weakning of his owne forces; which if he doe, then will be fittest time in the darke of the night following to put out, when it shall be unfit for them to come to saile to hinder us. Or if we see reason, we may with the wind worke every day to and againe with our sailes on the flood, to be alwaies ready in action when the tide is aloft, which may somewhat the courage of the people quell and dismay, though the gallants seeme to thinke otherwise. This no sooner propounded but liked for the best way, and so we agreed to proceed; and for that I found Master Molineux willing at low water in the morning to fall downe with the *Hope*, which was accordingly performed.

The twentieth, in the morning, at low water I sent downe Master Molineux with the *Hope* to prepare the enemie to some attempt when the tide shall be up; which beeing done, upon the flood we also with the other three ships stood after her. The Viceroy and all the worthy knights about him supposed I had been flying, hastened also as the streame would permit them towards the entrance to stop my comming forth, but contrariwise we all anchored short of the *Hope*, not altogether of purpose to leave her destitute of our helpe but rather doubting of depth for our ships (so farre downe) to ride at low water. I was no sooner at anchor and gone downe to my cabbin and set downe to write to give my friends and merchants ashore notice of my purposes

and resolution, howsoever it might please God to dispose of me, and that they might know it to be no rashnesse, but in good discretion to tend upon my best advantages to prejudice my enemies, but presently I had notice that three ships with most of the frigats were before the wind, running stem-long aboard the *Hope* and the gallions after them, so farre as the sands gave leave. We assayed to weigh our anchor, but time not permitting, wee cut cable and set saile for the *Hopes* rescue; but the enemies ships were aboard her and entred their men before we came sufficiently neere them; their men being entred with great shew of resolution, but had no quiet abode there, neither could rest in their owne ships nor make them loose from the *Hope*, for our great and small shot; so that when the principall were kild, the rest in great number for quietnesse sake leapt into the sea, where their frigats tooke many of them up. But first of purpose to have burnt the *Hope* with them they made preparation to fire their owne ships, which was well performed without harme to the *Hope* (praised be the Lord of Heaven); for so soone as the fire was wel kin[d]led the ships of fire were let loose and drove aground on the sands, where they burnt till the flowing water came and quencht them. Whiles daylight lasted we continued changing of shot in all our ships with the gallions, they being on the outside of a spit of sand and we on the inside; by which they did little harme to our hulles but to our ropes and sailes overhead. In this conflict, besides them which were wounded, we lost five men. By great mischance the *Hopes* maintop, topsaile, topmast, and shrouds came afire and burnt away, with a great part of the mainemast, by the fireworks that were in the said top, the man being slaine that had the charge thereof. This mishap kept us from going forth into deepe water to try our fortunes with the Viceroy, but were put to our shifts, not knowing how or by what meanes to get the said mast cured.

The one and twentieth, I sent to weigh the anchor we had cut the day before. The two and twentieth, I understood that many great men, with five or sixe hundred horse and a Portugall Father, came downe to Swally to send on the morrow the Father, with three or foure principall Moores, to conclude a peace betwixt them; and the Nabob sent me word that he sought no

such thing and was resolved to make none but wherein we should be included. He also granted me what timber we should want, which we made use of. Likewise we were promised provisions. The Portugals continued quiet.

The five and twentieth, the Muccadam [*mukaddam*, headman] of Swally came to me and told me that the former Father had sent to intice him to poison the former well, wherehence we had our water, which he would not yeeld unto, and therefore had put into the well some live tortoises, who would by their death demonstrate the poysoning thereof, if it should by them be performed. At night came part of the hundred and seventie bales of indico to the water side; which was presently fetcht aboard. Isaac Beg<sup>1</sup> sent me a present of the fruits of his owne garden. This day came downe the rest of the timber for the *Hopes* mast.

The seven and twentieth, I sent all our boats to sound the swach<sup>2</sup> at low water, chiefly to keep the enemie alwayes ignorant of what I intended; whither was sent by the enemy to prevent them one gally and five frigats, thinking to cut off our boats, whereof they failed, as of all other things they attempted.

The eight and twentieth, the Nabob sent to the Viceroy great store of provision, goats, bread, plantans, &c. with a banquet of sweetmeates. Cogenozan sent me a present of five bullocks. Divers of our men died here of fluxe<sup>3</sup> and disease.

The one and thirtieth, in the morning, we received aboard from Cambaya fiftie bales indico. In the afternoone came Cogearson Allee<sup>4</sup> aboard, who presented me with divers things, viz. goats, great store of bread, rost meat, plantans, and sugar, &c. With him came an old acquaintance of mine, a Persian; he reported unto me that there is newes come from Damon that the Portugals carried thither three hundred and fiftie men to be buried, and that this newes is most certain; and by our estimate there cannot be lesse then an hundred more kild and burnt in their ships, besides those drowned, which the tide did cast up ashoare. They also related to me that not onely here in India they found opposition, but also the Persians against Ormus and the Malays at Malacca are in armes against the Portugals; and whereas there

<sup>1</sup> Ishāk Beg.

<sup>3</sup> Dysentery.

<sup>2</sup> Swatch (channel).

<sup>4</sup> Khwāja Hasan Ali.

had been speech of a peace to bee concluded betweene the Vice-roy and Mocrib Can, he wisht me to assure myselfe it was broken off and would none be. I found his love and tooke great content in his long staying with mee; whose presence I thirsted to see, and till now he could never get leave of the Nabob to come to see mee (which without no man dare or will be so bold); who [which?] proceeds by the great charge he hath from the King that all things of worth should be procured by the Nabob for the Kings use<sup>1</sup>; which holds him in such doubt and jealousie, least anything should passe by any other meanes to his disgrace, whereby he is inforced to use strange and severe courses to restraine the same. The day being farre spent, I returned him, with a present, gave money to all his people, let him see the cast of the bullets of some of our great ordnance; they tooke their leave and departed.

The third of Februarie there came to the waterside twentie foure bales indico, seven packs white baftas, seven packs blacke baftas, sixe packs cotton yarne, foure packs blue baftas, three packs candikens<sup>2</sup>, one pack crecany<sup>3</sup>, al[l] which were presently fetcht aboard. This day also the Viceroyes supplyes came in sight, which were two ships of burthen, two junkes, and eight or tenne of the countrey boates. The Nabob sent Lacandas to informe me that these supplyes were not for warre, but fild full of combustibile matter to fire and so to be let drive with the tyde upon our ships in the night; which advise I was glad to understand, and addressed myselfe also to prevent that and all other their attempts with smaller ships. The spring [tide] now neere the highest and fittest for their assaults, which every tide I expected. And to shew that I was in a readinesse to intertaine them, as also how little I cared for them (having all the time formerly ridden without the like), I purposed and performed the setting and cleering our watch, morning and evening, with a volley of shot from every ship, and the best peece in my shippe

<sup>1</sup> See *Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Port. *canequim* (from Mahratti *khandaki*), a cotton cloth made in short pieces.

<sup>3</sup> As suggested by Mr Moreland, Downton probably wrote 'treacany.' This was doubtless the 'tricandee' of *Eng. Fact.*, 1618-21, and the 'trekenes' on p. 102, *infra*; it was a piece of dutty (see p. 103), dyed, for export to the Far East.



directed to the prow of the Viceroy; which I did to daunt the courage of them hee must employ and to try his temper, whether it would make him angry or no. And I still thinke it proved to good end.

It pleased God this day at night, when I had least leasure to mourne, to call to His mercie my onely son, George Downton; who early the next morning was buried ashoare, and the volleyes aforesaid, appointed to try the temper of the Viceroy, served also to honour his buriall.

This morning also came to me on[e] Mousa Attale, a Malabar captaine (with his troope), attending to visit me, expecting some businesse this day by the Portugals to be attempted; whom I intertained with all kind respect, and by conference made the best use of his company that I might, by drawing from him the description of the principall ports and harbours in his countrey and manifesting the desire I had to be acquainted with him and to intertaine love, league, and familiaritie between the English and them, with a mutuall trade and traffique one with another; the which with great desire he seemed to imbrace, willing me to give him some letters of my hand for their ships to carry to shew to my countrymen, wheresoever they should meet them; which I delivered, as also a letter for him to moove their king for the kind usage of our nation whensoever any of our ships should arrive in any of his harbours; and so after leave taken he departed, I presenting him with a swordblade and three or foure knives.

The master of the *Hope* complained that besides those presently kild he had many hurt, bruised and disabled for service; wherefore I sent him for supply three men from the *Gift*, foure from the *Hector*, and foure from the *Solomon*.

The fifth, I received letters from Master Aldworth from Baroch, who writes of their arrivall there, and that the day before, nine courses<sup>1</sup> from Baroch, they were set upon by two hundred theeves, Rashpooses<sup>2</sup>, with pikes, small shot and bowes and arrowes; and skirmishing a little while with them, they fled, three of them being killed and more wounded; they having shot

<sup>1</sup> The *kos* was  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or 2 miles.

<sup>2</sup> Rājputs, many of whom at this time had taken to highway robbery (*Early Travels*, pp. 199, 314). The skirmish is described by Dodsworth, *infra*.

Humfrey Elkington<sup>1</sup> thorow the thigh, and killed one of the horses that Surder Canne<sup>2</sup> sent to guard our men, and Master Aldworthes horse likewise received a shot.

The Nabob sent me word that the Viceroy would assault this day, and therefore sent Cogenozan to guard the land; who came to the waterside and sent his sonne Mamod Jehad [Mahmūd Jihādī?] aboard to see mee, with a caveleer called Kemagee [Khemji], the sonne of Leckdarsee<sup>3</sup>, Raspoose, of Guigomar<sup>4</sup> or Castelletto (who maintained warre with the Mogore and Portugall together a long time). They entreated leave to see and partake in the fight, who, seeing no attempt that day given, stayed aboard all night. And the Raspoose, seeing the backwardnesse of the enemy, went the next day ashoare; but the other, desirous to see the issue thereof, stayed two or three dayes longer aboard, and then, seeing nothing would bee done by the enemie, he departed.

The eight in the forenoone we received more indico aboard. In the afternoone all the frigats, with the two juncques and two gallyes, came driving up with the flood, making shew of some attempt at the instant, either by fire (which I most doubted) or otherwise. Whereupon we all weighed to goe nearer to them; who no sooner perceived it but they altogether made away as fast as they might, and we came to an anchor not farre from our former place. This device was nothing but to make us think that those fireboats should come from the northwards [southwards?], that we might not mistrust their comming from the northwards. And therefore the next day against night they assembled both juncques, frigats, and gallyes all together, a little without the sands, to take away all suspition of the north from us; which I well perceived, and did alwayes resolve that that way was the place of most danger for us, and therefore gave a speciall charge of good looking out both wayes, but chiefly that way; which accordingly fell out, for that a little within night we did discern

<sup>1</sup> Humphrey Elkington (brother of Thomas) had come out with Downton as a factor, and had been sent to Cambay.

<sup>2</sup> Sardār Khān, the title given by Jahāngīr to Khwāja Yādgar, brother of Abdullah Khān (Viceroy of Gujarāt, 1611-16).

<sup>3</sup> Possibly Lakhadāji.

<sup>4</sup> Probably an error for 'Gengomar' (see p. 9).

them (betweene us and a great light to the westward, upon the iland of Gogo<sup>1</sup>) creeping to the northwards upon the flood. And then, upon the last quarter ebbe, about ten of the clock in the dark of the night, before the rising of the moone, there came driving downe two fire-boats, being towed by frigats; whom we discovered before they came neare us and plyed at them both with our ordnance and small shot; whereby wee beat off the frigats that towed them, who durst adventure no further with them but turned them off, who came driving with the tide a prettie distance from the other. The first drove cleere of the *Gift*, *Hector* and *Salomon*, and came thwart the *Hope*s hause, and presently blew up, and with the blow much of their ungratious stuffe; but (blessed be God) to no harme to the *Hope*, for that by cutting her cable shee cleared herselfe. The latter came likewise upon the quarter of the *Hope* and then flamed up, but did no harme, driving downe the ebbe, and came foule of us againe on the flood, the abundance of fewell continually burning; which our people in our boats towed ashoare, and the former suncke downe neare us by daylight. This day I received a letter from Master Aldworth, who writes of the receit of a letter from Thomas Kerridge, specifying that Nicholas Whittington<sup>2</sup> is distracted and out of his right sences, and that he writeth somewhat doubtfully of Richard Steele.

The tenth at night, neare about the same time as before, there came two fire-boats together, towed by foure or five frigats, which bore directly upon the *Hector*. But as soone as we discovered them, the *Gift* and the *Hector* let drive at them, both with great and small shot, that the frigats which towed them forsooke them and forced the actors thereof to give fire sooner then they would, and so turned them adrift; who comming burning directly towards her, but the wind being stiffe, drove them to leeward of her. Within halfe an houre after wee perceived a great many boats driving right with the *Hector*; at whom they and we discharged, which againe made the frigats forsake them, and also those appointed for to act it, sooner then they

<sup>1</sup> Now known as Piram Island. It lies 6 miles south-east of Gogo, and helps to form the roadstead of that port.

<sup>2</sup> For Withington and his adventures see *Early Travels*, p. 188.

expected; whereby they gave fire only unto two of them, being foure of them chained together. But the *Hector* edging to windward (and it pleased God to send a stiffe gale of wind at present, which drove them to leeward off her) our gunner made a shot at one of the boats unfired and struck her; whereupon shee tooke fire and the vehemencie of the flames reached unto the fourth and set her afire also, and so they drove ashoare hard by our landing place. My pinnasse took three of the actors in a small cannow<sup>1</sup>, wherein they thought (the exploit being done) to have escaped. Two of them were brought aboard me and the third was left aboard the *Hector*; and the gelliwat returning aboard found another which shee brought with her; one of them had his shoulder shot thorow. Thus it pleased God to disappoint all the malicious practises of our enemies against us.

The eleventh, the Viceroy, seeing God crossing him in all his injurious attempts, set saile and fell downe into the Barre, where he anchored. The cause of his anchoring there I was desirous to understand, I doubting it was for no other purpose then to attempt the spoile of Surat; but I resolved, if he should so doe, to put out with my ships and so to set upon his fleet (which would make his enterprise against Surat to bee given over); being desirous to assist the place where wee had so great a stocke, and so many of our merchants. But the Viceroy would not trust mee so much as to unman his ships, lest I should come against him; and therefore sent all the frigats at night into the river, with some to capitulate about a peace; whereof he had flat answere to the contrary, as aforesaid.

The twelfth, Lacandas came downe, informing me from the Nabob (he being so assured by the Jesuits, with whom he alwayes kept fairc weather for his better securitie, if wee should be put to the worse) that there were sixe or eight frigats gone to the northwards with foure or five fire-boats to be let drive among us in the night, and therefore wished carefully to looke out, for that it should be when we should least suspect. I allowed of his kindnesse, was glad of his carefull regard, although needing no such admonition; suspecting such practises as well when they were out of sight, and furthest from us, as when they rode hard by us.

<sup>1</sup> Native boat (canoe).

The thirteenth, for as much as frigats or other vessels in the offing could not so well discerne the place of our ships in the darke night, for the shadow of the shoare, though very low, therefore in the times of their hellish gunpowder practises they had lights for ayme given them ashoare, where fittest to come in. Now night by night we saw the like in the like place as before. Therefore, esteeming some of their creatures againe to give ayme for their comming to like practises, though no vessels seene by daylight, and being formerly warned, as aforesaid, to looke out for like attempts, in hope to take hold of this fireman, at night I sent William Gurdin ashoare with twentie men, shot and pike, to incompass and take the blaser of the said fire, supposing it to be some traytor inhabiting these nearest parts; who in his passage comming neare it, it would seeme presently out, and againe at an instant at another place contrary to their pursuit; and so playing in and out with them so long that in the end they gave it over, esteeming it some delusion of the Devil, not knowing otherwise how to conjecture thereof.

This present night the Viceroy set saile from the Barre, leaving in the river some twentie of his frigats, which continued the place, shifting to relieve each other, sometimes more and sometimes lesse, and kept in the Mallabars frigats which were there in service for the defence of the towne.

The fourteenth, the Nabob sent me a great man and a souldier (whom in amitie hee named his brother) to visit me, who declared his opinion that the Viceroy and all his fleet were gone for Goa, but some frigats to attend this river and some to returne to Diu and Ormus; which opinion of his I see no reason for it [and] could not allow of; esteeming him rather gone somewhither to refresh his people, to strengthen them against our putting forth to sea, when no sands should hinder his greatest ships to encounter me. He also told me that the King had sent downe forces both to take Damon and all the country along the seaside (in which I gave him courteous hearing, beleeving as I saw reason): and that they were more willing to give our nation entertainment and trade then ever they did the Portugals; the which I thought he might with very good reason speake, because the Portugall hath beene injurious alwayes and hath exercised

many vile things upon them; and yet unlesse we continue able to mate and withstand the Portugals forces they will unsay that speecch againe for their owne ease. After he had seene the ship and viewed our ordnance and all our defencible preparations, hee desired leave to depart with his traine, which with all courtesie and our boats in best fashion was performed.

Now our daily endeavour is and long since hath beene to the clearing and beginning to lade the *Hope* for England; which by the overtopping and threatning forces of the Viceroy formerly with reason I could not resolve to doe, though time and libertie would for present have allowed the same, but by hastie snatches, as it came, ever we put it in confusedly (some into one ship and some into another), not thinking fit in so casuall [i.e. uncertain] a time to hazard all our cargason in one ship. Besides, it was long before the *Hopes* burnt mast was newly cured. And that I resolved to send home the *Hope*, it was not altogether for that I esteemed her fittest of burthen for the stowing of our goods presently provided, but withall by the many impediments and disabilitie in the ship in and by the master and carpenter daily complained of, as that the poste within the rudder was unsheathed (a strange and dangerous neglect and oversight), and therefore fittest soonest to be returned; and the losse of our quicksilver in her, which lyeth upon her keele and billages<sup>1</sup>, another important cause.

The eighteenth, the Nabob sent Cogearson Allee, the Sabandar, and other merchants of Surat, to intreat my stay for fiftene dayes; which in no sort I would grant. 'Then they importuned me for ten dayes; which yet by no meanes would I yeeld unto, shewing how great prejudice to my voyage my stay heere so long might be. The cause of their request was their feare lest the Viceroy after my departure should come against Surat with all his forces. Wherefore I considering the weight of this businesse and the prejudice it might be to ourselves, and also being unwilling to send them backe with deniall, seeing them much discontented thereat as a disgrace unto them, and being loath at my departure to give the Nabob any distast therein that have done to my uttermost hitherto to give him all content possible, and

<sup>1</sup> A form of 'bilge,' meaning the lowest part of the ship.

knowing what future hindrance it might be to our businesse ashoare; and last of all, seeing there was six dayes worke of the ten to be done in the *Hope* before we could be possibly ready, I at length (when they were altogether out of hope thereof and upon departure) condescended to their request; whereat they were exceeding joyfull, and departed.

The two and twentieth at night I received a letter from Surat, informing me of the Nabobs comming to see me the next day.

The three and twentieth in the morning came downe two elephants and six camels, bringing his tents and other provisions.

The foure and twentieth, Master Aldworth came downe with the rest of the merchants to finish all businesse with me<sup>1</sup>.

The five and twentieth in the morning, the Nabob came downe with a very great traine, and sixe elephants more, and had beene two houres ashoare before I knew thereof; which when it was told me, being sorry for my neglect of him, I sent Master Aldworth, Master Elkington, and Master Dodsworth ashoare unto him to hold him in discourse untill I came unto him, which was not long after. I purposed to go unto him (as a sonne unto his father) in my doublet and hose, without any armes or great traines according to custome, thereby to shew my trust and confidence that I reposed in him; but my friends perswaded me to the contrary, that I should rather goe well appointed and attended on with a sufficient guard to continue the custome. Whereunto I consented (though in conclusion it repented me that I had not taken mine own course) and went ashoare with about one hundred and forty men, of pike and shot; who at my entrance into the Nabobs tent gave me a volly of shot. The Nabob entertained me very kindly, seeming very joyfull of my comming ashoare to him, we sitting a while under a very faire tent open on all sides round about, environed with many people as well of mine as of his attendants. At length hee brought me into a more private roome neare adjoyning, having on his side onely Alle Canne [Ali Khān], a great Persian captaine, and the Banian Henie [Hemū?] for his interpreter, and on my side Master

<sup>1</sup> For a record of the consultation held for that purpose see *infra*, p. 121.

Aldworth, Master Elkington and Master Dodsworth; where hee conferred both of the estate of this countrey at present and also of our affaires. At length I demanded of him if he would go aboard with me to see the shippe; whereunto he very willingly consented. Then he presented me with his owne sword (accompanied with many good words, telling mee that it was the custome of their countrey to honour capitaines with armes that had deserved well), which, as he told mee, was made in his owne house, the hilts thereof being of massie gold; and in lieu thereof I returned him my sute, being sword, dagger, girdle and hangers, by mee much esteemed of and which made a great deale better shew, though of lesse value. We came both forth of the private tent and I walked downe to the waterside, there staying his comming; whither he sent mee a present of ten cuttnee quilts and twentie topseells. And not long after came the Nabob himselfe, and then we tooke boat together and went aboard; where having shewed him the lying of our ordnance and all our warlike preparation for defence, I presented him with a very faire standing guilt cup with a cover and certaine very faire knives and a rundlet of muscadine<sup>1</sup>, with some other toyes. Then he desired to see our ordnance shoote off and how farre they would carry their shot upon the water; and I gave him three. Then he would have taken leave; but I accompanied him to the shoare, and gave him at his departure eleven great shot. At our parting at the waterside the Nabob gave me foure baskets of grapes. He likewise gave the gunners and trumpeters between them two hundred mamudies, and among the ships company five hundred mamudies and one hundred books<sup>2</sup> of white baftas, of two mamudies a peece; and then, after some complements, we tooke leave one of the other and departed. I rowed along the shoare for my better getting aboard, the tide running so swiftly, and saw Lacandas the Banian come running towards the boat, being sent of the Nabob to know of me if he should erect a tombe over my sonne. I returned him many thanks, and willed

<sup>1</sup> 'Runlet' is applied to casks or vessels of widely differing capacity, but mainly small. 'Muscadine' is a wine made from the grape of that name.

<sup>2</sup> 'Book-muslin' is still familiar. The term originated in the book-like method of folding certain piece-goods.



Lacandas to tell him that I had alreadie begun it. Then I returned aboard, and he went to Surat; and not long after, his tents were taken downe and went after him, with the rest of his carriages.

The six and twentieth, the Nabobs sonne and sonne in law (a very ingenious yo[u]ng man) came aboard to take their leaves of me; upon whom I bestowed some knives and other things which I had left; which could not be much, having still [i.e. continually] had one great man or other to visite me, who seldome or never went away without some one present or other. So they viewed the shippe and departed.

The seventeenth<sup>1</sup>, there came aboard unto me the three sonnes of Allee Canne; the two yongest first and after them came the eldest, called Guger Canne [Gūjar Khān], who as yet had never been aboard. He presented me with two antelops, male and female; whercat I was glad, since I had sent to enquire for some to send home to Sir Thomas Smith, but could not procure any<sup>2</sup>. I presented him with foure Spanish pikes<sup>3</sup> with heads, and some other things of my owne, and shewed him all the ship, with our warlike preparation for defence, as also all our ordnance. And a little while after he tooke his leave, and at his departure I gave him eleven shot.

The third of March in the afternoone, upon the tide of ebbe, and a small gale came up northerly, to give steering way to our ships, we seeing our friends the Mallabars (which had desired to go with us) not attempting to come forth, we hastened to get up our anchors and to set saile to proceed on our journey. Yet, seeing comming in from the westward another fleet of Portugall frigats, I was willing to shew my best in the view of the countrey people to hinder their comming into the river of Surat; which was nothing, for that there was roome enough for them to passe by us every way out of the reach of our shot; yet we shot at the

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be a slip for 'seven and twentieth.'

<sup>2</sup> These two, together with a third procured at Broach by Oxwick, were sent to Smythe in the *Hope* (see Downton's letter on p. 181, and *Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 56). Downton had been instructed to procure, if possible, any strange birds or beasts, or other rarities, for presentation to King James (*Supplementary Calendar*, p. 39).

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the 'Byskay launces' mentioned later by Elkington.

nearest of them, without hope to shoote neare them but only to shew our good willes, and for encouragement to our friends on land; as also for those which went alongst the coast (as I esteemed), to give knowledge to the gallions of our comming, that they might report also that we shot at their fellowes going to Surat, that they might also expect that wee cared the lesse for their greater strength.

In our passage this night we had divers flawes of unconstant winds, for which we came to anchor for a while. Afterwards, seeing it blew steadie, though faint, wee set saile, continuing our course south by east alongst the shoare. At that time the daylight began to discover to us all things neare us, we descried betweene us and the shoare our enemies forces<sup>1</sup> of gallions and two gallyes, all comming to saile presently after they saw us and stood after us with a faint gale; we standing somewhat without our course with all our sailes, partly to gaine time to make ourselves in perfect readinesse to fight, partly to refresh my people that had taken much paines the night past; as also, the further I draw them off the coast, the further they will be from fresh supplyes to be sent them. But ere long the tide of flood being come and little wind to hold our owne, we came to an anchor; while the enemy, resting his hopes in the wind, kept longer under saile to his greater disadvantage. But I not taking it for an error in them, but of purpose to doe us more harme, it brought mee into a new and great doubt, which drew all my powers to devise how to prevent. This was that, now we were at sea, they meant to return to Surat with al[l] their strength and there to worke their wills on our friends and goods; which I had no meanes to prevent, but by following them, knowing they durst not unarme nor unfurnish their shippes while I was in sight of them. But the time now grew so late that I doubted, by the most hast that I could make, I should hardly get off the coast before the foule weather came; which put me into some hope that the Vice-Roy, being so great a souldier and so discreet a gentleman, would not expose himself, his people and ships, to such great perils as the hastning winter did threaten. While these things floted in my mind, the

<sup>1</sup> Monden says these comprised seven ships and two galleys. Elkington confirms this (see p. 206).

tide of flood was spent and time to worke if we make use of the ebbe. We (to my great content) saw the Vice-Roy his fleete standing towards us with a fresh gale of wind. Wee likewise set saile and stood away our owne course before him all that tide and so spent the night to the best advantage, partly by sailing and partly by stopping.

The fifth in the morning, wee saw the enemie had gotten but little ground of us. This day also we spent, as before, in riding and sailing, as time served to our best advantage; and for that the *Hector* went best and the *Hope* (logloaden<sup>1</sup>) worst, I sent to the *Hector* to take in her boat and to prepare for the *Hope*. I sent to the *Hope* to give directions to hasten to the *Hector* to be towed; and to the end she should have nothing to hinder her, I had her boat to tow at my sterne; and so spent the night working for the best. The wind fresh, wee had no cause to anchor. This night the Vice-royes ships got much ground of us; by this I was gotten well off from the shoare and also an ende to the southwards, and by his working I recovered some assurance to my conceit that these forces would not this yeare annoy Surat. And for my businesse for encountring the enemie I had by good leasure well considered how to contrive it; and withall I had considered of the cases of either and the difference betweene the Vice-Roy and me, I meane in our severall satisfactions and contents. My coming hither was by the authoritie of my king and to follow the designes of my imployers, which was in merchants ships fitted for defence, and to endeavour by honest commerce without striving to injury any; which God hath of His tender mercie and bountifull blessing so assisted me, that we have performed beyond my former conceit, and in most things hitherto God hath graunted me my hearts desire, and am now in a good way upon my way with the same; with which without further tempting of God or presuming of Gods continuing mercies in further deliverances, if I by pride swarve from what is just, and before Him to be allowed, whose mercies have been free and without any cause in mee for His owne name sake; therefore I hold it fit to proceed soberly and attend upon the enemies attempt, yet not in

<sup>1</sup> This seems to mean that she was so stuffed with cargo that she sailed with difficulty.

base manner but in a warlike sort. On the other side the unhappy Vice-Roy, a famous valiant man, therefore now sent by his master the King of Spaine with ships (the principall of India) with men (all the gallants and principall braggards of those neerer parts of India) what to doe? Not onely to disturbe or intercept the peaceable and quiet trade of the English with the subjects of the Mogol, a great king in his owne countrey, but to take or burne them, so little regard is had to the effusion of Christian blood, never looking towards the judgements of God nor remembring that as men doe to others they must expect to be done to. This captaine was furnished with abundance of all things the countrey might yeeld and wanted nothing but an upright cause fit for God to favour. He came to the place, where he found what he sought, foure poore merchants ships, a fewe men, and many of them sicke and dead, and those braggards measured our minds by their owne, thought we would never stand out against so powerfull a force as they esteemed they had, and the conceit of that set those coxcombs a madding to be doing mischief to encrease their pride, which they intitule honour. I seeing the difference and the cause I had to pray to God, my onely refuge, whom it pleased to grant the request of me His poore and unworthy servant; in consideration whereof I put forward the businesse and, as it were, baited my hooke, and the fish presently ranne thereat as aforesaid. They came three ships and thirtie or fortie frigats, as I imagined; with a veaze<sup>1</sup> laid the *Hope* aboard with the flowre of all their gallants; where by the hand of God in their amazed carriage they received such a blow as few (and they by their extraordinary chance) escaped with safetie, and the three ships burnt. Thus it pleased God to crosse their first attempt; and never after, though they beleaguered us round about by sea, with all their sorts of shippes for many dayes together, our people still [i.e. constantly] in action and halfe tired with continuall labour, some receiving in goods, yet, blessed be God, they could never get the advantage to winne from us the vallew of a louse, unlesse our bullets which we lent them; his fire-boats failing and nothing prospering, and once in foure and twentie houres I sent him a defiance for many dayes together to try his

<sup>1</sup> With a rush, impetuously.

temper; all which must needs lie heavie on the stomacke of a gentleman of so great courage. I esteeme now he will hazard much to recover some of his honour formerly lost. But craving pardon for this my digression, I will now returne and proceed with my former businesse.

Wherefore, the sixt in the morning betimes, I sent for my master and let him know that my purpose was that, when the Vice-Roy should come up neere with us, that we would all at once cast about with him and charge him first on the sudden, to strike an unexpected terror in the hearts of his people, who now are bragge [i.e. boastful], seeing us going away before them. And to that end I now went aboard every ship to give them all directions, and more that I would cause the *Hector*, with her pinasse and mine, to take in an hundred fardels [i.e. bales] of the *Hopes* goods, to lighten her and mend her going. Which businesse (by reason of my pinasse to helpe) I stayed to see it done, so that it grew to be midday; neere which time my ship, which I left farre asterne for my better comming aboard, strooke saile; whereat (as wee imagined) the Vice-Roy, seeing the admirall strike her sailes to fall asterne, might take it of purpose to stay for him in contempt, he with his consorts bore up with the shoare and gave over the hope of their fortunes by further following of us; which course I like very well, since he is so patient, for there is nothing under his foot [i.e. in his power] that can make amends for the losse of the worst mans finger I have. Besides, I wish no occasion to fight; for that which I have already paid for I am already possest on, and I am so farre from the humour to fight for honour, unlesse for the honour of my king or countrey, that I had rather save the life or lives of one of my poorest people then kill a thousand enemies.

Having now finished with the Vice-Roy, I set myselfe to write letters for the dispatch of the *Hope*; yet still thinking to have haled into the Bar of Goa, to proove if I could have left some commendations there for the Vice-Roy at his returne. This was my great desire that I long promised; yet so long trifled in dispatch of the *Hope*, that wee were shot farre past it before wee had finished the same.

[*The rest of this journall is wanting<sup>1</sup>, for hee is also wanting which should have perfected it. But alas, this is the imperfection of mans best perfections; death lying in ambush to intrap whom by open force (you see) he could not devoure. He dying in this voyage, and following his sonne, hath left this glorious act, Memoriae Sacrum, the memorable epitaph of his worth, savouring of a true heroike disposition, pietie and valour being in him seasoned with gravitie and modestie. We will not with heathen poets cry out of cruell immature fates, for death hath prevented unto him possibilitie of disastrous events (which as shadowes follow the bodies in greatest light), and, leaving his living memory here, hath lifted his lively part and vertuous spirit to receive the applause and praise and reward of God and with God, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.*]

<sup>x</sup> 'Since this was written I have obtayned Master Elkingtons journall, wherein you may proceed with this worthy captain to Bantam, and thence to his grave; his history succeeding thus, as himselfe did in the Generals place of command' (*marginal note*).

# ELKINGTON'S JOURNAL

COLLECTIONS *taken out of the* JOURNALL *of*  
CAPTAINE THOMAS ELKINGTON, *successour to*  
*Captaine Nicholas Downton in the voyage aforesaid,*  
*written by himselve*<sup>1</sup>.

THE FIRST of January 1613 [i.e. 1614], the new ship, built at Detford, was la[u]nched and called the *New-Yeares-Gift*. The third of March, we came to an anchor in the Downes.

The thirtieth of June, we set saile from the Bay of Soldania. Heere at this time, which is their dead of winter, it was temperate, rather inclining to cold then heate. We had little refreshing but water and fish<sup>2</sup>. The people are wretched, neither sow nor plant, dwell in small cottages made of hides and so joyne many of them in a round circle, having their cattle in the midst. They are browne, but by greasing themselves become almost blacke, and in the wind unsavourie a doozen yards off; filching, trecherous, unworthy so good a land, which in likelihood with culture would be very fertile.

The sixth of August wee had sight of Saint Laurence. This night Robert Waters departed, a man long diseased in bodie, disturbed in minde by torment of conscience, for a man by him killed in Virginia (cowardly comming behind him and knocking him on the head), for which hee obtayned his pardon in the court of men, but in the inward and spirituall was thus pursued to his death. Here in the Bay of Saint Augustine we woodded and watered. Some went up the river and came to their houses or sheads, which were small things set up with canes and covered with a thing like a hurdle, made of the leaves of the palme tree. The people fled and left all, that is, nothing but a little cotton spunne, or on the distaves, with a few necessaries. The eleventh and twelfth we bought cattell in exchange of silver chaines, they taking the valuc of twentie pence, or two shillings, in a chaine for

<sup>1</sup> From *Purchas*, vol. 1, p. 514.

<sup>2</sup> Monden says that they bought about twenty sheep and five oxen, and netted from thirteen to fourteen hundred fish.

an oxe, which in money would cost five or six shillings. They are very good, fed, it seemes, within the land, for we saw nothing but sand and wood without any grasse at all.

The ninth of September, we had sight of Socatora, and passing by Tamarind [Tamrida] Bay, came to anchor in Delisha.

The one and twentieth of October we came into the road of Swally.

After the fight on the twentieth of January, in which three Portugall ships were burnt and two frigats sunke, and timber procured for the *Hopes* maine mast (which the Nabob caused to be done so warily that it seemed he was afraid lest the Portugals might know it), on the foure and twentieth came a Jesuite with another fellow from the Viceroy to intreate of peace with Magribocan, who on the seven and twentieth sent the Viceroy one hundred and fiftie maunds meale, one hundred sheepe, twentic-five maunds conserves, with hens, &c. In the afternoone the Sabandar [see p. 17] requested me to read a letter from the Viceroy, which signified that, whereas by the Padre hee was informed that the Nabob desired to make peace in his masters name and had appointed for treatie thereof the Sabandar, Isaac Beg and Abduram [Abdurrahīm], hee also had hearkened thereto and appointed three others to that businesse, binding himselfe to performe their agreements.

On the one and thirtieth the Sabandar came unto mee and told mee that no peace could bee with the Portugals, they refusing to make any restitution for damages or goods taken, but rather required money of them; and that the Viceroy had sent to all parts thereabouts for more forces.

After their fire devices frustrated, they all set saile, both ships, juncques, gallies and frigats, and roade at the Barre of Surat. The *Hector* had taken one of their frigats which was employed to tow the fire-boats, and in her seven men, three slaine, foure living. Soone after they departed, and we also weighed the second of March.

On the fourth we descryed the Portugall fleet, which presently gave us chase, and the next day also. On the sixth the Generall came aboard us to wish us to make readie, he purposing to turne and give the onset on them; but about noone the Portugals bore



up the helme and stood in for the shoare, and within three houres after we lost sight of them. The tenth<sup>1</sup>, at night, the *Hope* departed from us. The fifteenth we saw three spouts of water not farre from us, one whereof very bigge continuing halfe an houre. The nineteenth<sup>2</sup> we doubled Cape Comorine.

The tenth of May, the wind and current against us, the Generall went to a greene iland to the north of the Salt-hill<sup>3</sup>, and there came to an anchor in twentie fathome, good ground sandie. Wee sought fresh water but found none. Wee saw pigges and hogs on the iland and gathered good store of coco nuts. About this iland is good riding, beeing twelve fathomes within a stones throw of the shoare. The pinnasse fetched water at an iland foure leagues off, which was brackish. We found water in the iland beyond the burning one. The second of June wee came to an anchor in Bantam Road.

The third of July we weighed mace and received silke for the furnishing of the *Salomon* for Masulipatan; wherein we concluded to send for merchants George Chancie<sup>4</sup>, Ralph Preston, Humphery Elkington, Timothy Mallory, George Savage, and Robert Savage.

The eighth of July we laded porcelane in her, and then came newes by a juncke from the Moluccas of the *Thomasine*<sup>5</sup> being there, and of twelve saile of Hollanders at Ternate, which hindered all men they could from trade. The eleventh our old house<sup>6</sup> escaped great danger of a fire neere it.

On the twentieth Master Jordan received letters from Master Ball<sup>7</sup> at Macassar of the violent courses which the Flemmings used with him, beating him from thence; as also that they purposed with their whole force to come to take Bantam and to place the King of Motran<sup>8</sup> in the government.

<sup>1</sup> Monden says the eleventh.

<sup>2</sup> 'Eighteenth,' according to Monden.

<sup>3</sup> See note on p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Chauncey had come out as a factor in the *Jams*.

<sup>5</sup> The *Thomasin* was one of David Middleton's fleet, which had arrived at Bantam in Feb. 1615. She had been sent to Amboina and the Bandas (see *Letters Received*, vol. II, pp. xxiv, 318, etc.). For her experiences with the Dutch see *ibid.* vol. III, pp. 143, 262, etc.

<sup>6</sup> For the two houses occupied by the English see *Jourdain*, pp. 304-7.

<sup>7</sup> George Ball had been sent in the *Concord* to Amboina and the Bandas. His letter to Jourdain is printed in *Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 286.

<sup>8</sup> The Sultan of Mataram claimed suzerainty over the whole of Java.

The one and twentieth Master Bennet set saile in the *Salomon*. The five and twentieth the *Advice* and *Attendance* came into the road, having beene out of England eight moneths. At the Cape they met with the *Globe* and *James*, to whom they spared eighteene men. They departed towards England, July<sup>1</sup> the seventeenth, and they hither; the eighteenth meeting with a shippe neere the Cape, which we judge to be the *Samaritan* or *Hope* from<sup>2</sup> England.

The fifth of August I was aboard with the Generall, then very ill, and the next day had word of his departure; whom followed on the eighth Master Evans<sup>3</sup> the preacher, and Master Hambden<sup>4</sup>, as was supposed, by taking lodanum, they both being well a little before. On the eleventh the *Advice* was dispeeded for Japan, with twentie-two persons brought out of England, five blackes, and Fernando the Spaniard.

The fourteenth returned the *Concord* from Socodanna<sup>5</sup> and Macassar. That night was much raine, thunder and lightning, the church or meskit [i.e. mosque] of Bantam split in two with a thunderbolt, and the chiefe priest almost slaine; which the King and people tooke as an ill presage, and therefore determined to make peace with Jacatra<sup>6</sup>.

The sixteenth the *Thomasines* boat came into Bantam with twentie two English and five blackes, which told of the casting away of the *Thomasine* on certaine flats twentie two leagues from Macassar the night before, Wilson, the master, being carelesse and all the company asleepe, saving he which was at the helme. The money they saved and brought with them. Master Bailly signified also that the wracked company there

<sup>1</sup> An error for 'May' (see p. 209 and *Purchas*, vol. 1, pp. 328, 444).

<sup>2</sup> 'For' is obviously meant. The ship seen may have been the *Hope*, though Dodsworth makes no mention of the incident. The *Samaritan* left Bantam on 3 April 1615, but was wrecked on the coast of Madagascar (*Letters Received*, vol. v, p. 159, and vol. vi, p. 50).

<sup>3</sup> He had been engaged in March 1614 and sent out in David Middleton's fleet as chaplain at Bantam.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Holmden was one of the factors who had come out with Downton. He was probably related to Alderman Sir Edward Holmden, one of the original 'committees' of the Company.

<sup>5</sup> Sukadana, on the south-west coast of Borneo.

<sup>6</sup> Jakatra, on the site of which the Dutch afterwards built Batavia (Nova). It was about 50 miles east of Bantam.

enforced him to pay them their wages, which we caused them to restore<sup>1</sup>.

The nineteenth the Flemmings put into the bilbowes three blackes that Master Baily brought with him from Celoar<sup>2</sup>, pretending they tooke them climbing over their pales, also that they were taken from a place which they protected and therefore would keepe them. We are many wayes most vily abused by them, nor is any way to right us except wee should goe together by the eares; this (as we conceive) being wrought of purpose, and the blackes intised by them and willing to it, as being taken by force; which after that I knew I was offended with Master Baily, being a meanes that, whereas heretofore wee have beene in all places well intricated, that wee should be hated as men-robbers; which the Flemmings, to disgrace us, will not let to blaze abroad.

The thirteenth of September the watch espyed a fire in the thatch over Master Jordans lodging, which was soone quenched<sup>3</sup>. It was throwne there purposely. We found the cane wherein it was done, for which we suspected Francisco, the Spaniard turned Javan. The same night the like happened in two or three places of the towne, but all prevented.

The second of October Sophonee Cossock<sup>4</sup>, merchant, came in a small pinnasse from Puloway [Pulo Ai], one of the ilands of Banda, with an Orancaya<sup>5</sup> to conferre of trade.

The two and twentieth I with Master Pring and Master Boile<sup>6</sup> went ashoare to conferre with the Flemmish Generall<sup>7</sup>, touching certaine idle complaints made by them of our mariners; whom and the President<sup>8</sup> I found very impatient, calling us insolent

<sup>1</sup> For the loss of the *Thomasin* see *Letters Received*, vol. III, pp. 171, 260, etc. John Bailey had been sent in her as chief merchant. By law the crew of a wrecked vessel forfeited all claim to wages for the voyage.

<sup>2</sup> Solor, the southernmost of two islands lying off the eastern extremity of Floris. It had been taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1613.

<sup>3</sup> See *Jourdain*, p. 318.

<sup>4</sup> For the interesting history of the Russian known as Sophony Cozuck (Sophonias the Kazak) see *Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 319. His voyage to the Bandas is related in that volume.

<sup>5</sup> Chief (Malay *orang kaya*, rich man).

<sup>6</sup> Samuel Boyle had come out as a merchant in the *Concord*.

<sup>7</sup> Gerard Reynst, Governor-General, 1614-15.

<sup>8</sup> Jan Pieterszoon Koen was then President at Bantam and Directeur-Generaal.

English, and with threats telling us our pride would have a fall, with many other disgracefull words; this being the entertainment of that borish Generall, Garrat Reynes, in his owne house, shewing the like or worse to Master Ball, comming aboard him at Banda; and foure of our men entreating passage with him thence to Cambello<sup>1</sup>, upon no cause he carried them thither in the bilbowes.

The third of November I went ashoare. Captaine Jordan called together the merchants and sent for the Orancaya of Banda, having had his letter translated<sup>2</sup>, the effect whereof was that in regard of the ancient friendship betweene the English and them and especially with Captaine Keeling, withall being provoked by the cruelty of the Hollanders, their earnest desire was to trade only with the English for the spices of Puloway, Pulerons [*sic*] and Nera<sup>3</sup>, conditionally that the English would furnish them with victuals, munition and ordnance, and helpe them to recover the castle of Nera, and that some might bee sent to Banda to conferre hereof with the Orancayas. To which was answered that for helpe to recover Nera we could not doe it without order from England, [and] for ordnance at present we were unprovided; what we could we would, which was to furnish them with victuals, and what other provisions we could, till further order out of England, and to trade with them for spices; purposing to send a ship and some to conferre with the Orancayas how we should be secured and whether they would permit us a fort on shoare.

The two and twentieth were five Hollanders riding without, foure of which came from Mauritius Iland (having come out of Holland nineteene moneths past) where they found Generall Butt cast away with three ships, two utterly lost, the third men and goods saved; the fourth went home with a jury mast, in company of a small pinnasse that came thither by chance<sup>4</sup>. One

<sup>1</sup> Kambeloe, on the western coast of Ceram.

<sup>2</sup> The translation is printed at p. 492 of *The First Letter Book*. See also Jourdain's letter at p. 272 of *Letters Received*, vol. III.

<sup>3</sup> Pulo Ai, Pulo Run, and Neira are three islands of the Banda group.

<sup>4</sup> Gregorio Barbarigo, passing through Holland in 1615 on his way to take up his appointment as Venetian ambassador in London, heard the tragic intelligence of the shipwreck and death of Governor-General Pieter Both, and wrote from Flushing on 24 Sept. (N.S.): 'News has arrived that of five

of these shippes that was at the Mauritius came away before the rest; whom they found driving to and againe before the Straights mouth, having lost one hundred and sixty men and left in her but eight.

The five and twentieth, by a letter from Priaman, we had newes of the death of Master Oxewike and Samuel Negus<sup>1</sup>.

ships which were expected from the East Indies, laden with spices and other precious merchandise, three were wrecked last March at the island of Mauritius, two being entirely lost and the cargo of one recovered. The loss will amount to more than two millions of gold to the Company of the Indies at Amsterdam; so that it is a very serious matter' (*Cal. of Venetian State Papers*, vol. xiv, p. 21). The memory of the disaster is still preserved by the name of a mountain (Pieter Both) behind Port St Louis, the capital of Mauritius.

<sup>1</sup> Oxwick died at Achin in the middle of June 1615 (*Letters Received*, vol. III, pp. 128, 217). 'Negus' appears to be an error for 'Juxon,' who died, likewise at Achin, on 9 Aug. following (*ibid.* pp. 218, 229).

# PRING'S JOURNAL

BRIEFE NOTES of *two Voyages* of MASTER MARTIN PRING *into the East Indies. The first with Captaine Nicholas Downton, Generall of foure ships, in which he went Master in the New-Yeeres Gift, admirall*<sup>1</sup>.

FROM ENGLAND to the Canaries we used our Chanell compasses, and from thence our meridianall. Whiles we used our Chanell compasses we gave not any allowance for the variation, which afterwards we did in all our courses.

Wednesday, the fifteenth of June 1614, we anchored in the Road of Soldania, the latitude whereof is foure and thirtie degrees<sup>2</sup>, the longitude from the Lizard eight and twentie degrees<sup>3</sup> of a great circle east, the variation one degree, thirtie minutes, north westing.

The fourth of July we had the Cape of Good Hope east seven leagues off.

On Saturday, the sixt of August, we escried the land of Saint Laurence. The River of Saint Augustine hath in latitude twentie three degrees, thirtie eight minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope twentie three degrees of a great circle<sup>4</sup>. We left it on the twelfth, and the thirteenth wee had Westminster Hall<sup>5</sup> (which is a flat hill lying north-east by north from the Road of Saint Augustine) south-east by south nine leagues off, being in latitude three and twentie degrees, variation seventene degrees and twentie minutes north westing. On the fourteenth and fifteenth we found that the current had set us to the north of our account sixe leagues.

On the eighteenth, by observation of the sunne at noone, wee found the elevation of the South Pole to be seventene degrees

<sup>1</sup> From *Purchas*, vol. 1, p. 629.

<sup>2</sup> See note on p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Really 23° 40'.

<sup>4</sup> The latitude is nearly correct, but the longitude is considerably wrong.

<sup>5</sup> This sailor's appellation (used also by Peyton and Dodsworth) has long been disused.

and twentie sixe minutes. The three and twentieth wee descried the land of Joanna<sup>1</sup>.

The second of September we passed the Line. The ninth wee anchored in Delisha Road on the north side of Socotora, in twelve degrees and thirtie five minutes, variation eighteene degrees and thirtie minutes, longitude eleven degrees and twentie minutes of a great circle to the east of Saint Augustine.

*Their anchoring and what passed at Swally yee had before in Captaine Downton<sup>2</sup>.*

The second of March [1615] we left the Road of Swally. On the fourth we were as low as Damon, and saw the Viceroy with his *paderosa*<sup>3</sup> armada, which chased us till the sixt at noone, and then left us. The night before wee came in sight of Damon wee had many whirlewinds, the weather being cleere, as if the two monsons had beene striving for victorie. The sixteenth Cochin bare three leages off east halfe north. It stands in ten degrees close by the waters side; the land so low that we could see nothing but trees, but up in the countrey are mountaynes. Variation fifteen degrees north north-easting this evening.

The nineteenth at noone, being Sunday, there was an eclipse of the sunne, the end whereof by my observation continued till one in the afternoone and fortie five minutes. The distance of the sunne from the zenith was twentie seven degrees and thirtie minutes, just as the eclipse was ended. Munday, by observation of the Crosiers<sup>4</sup> we were in sixe degrees, and by the starres of the Great Beare also. Tuesday, at five in the morning, we descried the coast of Seyloan five leagues off, which nere the water side riseth full of small hummocks, and up in the countrey are mountaynes, whereof one like a friers cowle. Friday, Punta de Galia [Point de Galle] north-cast halfe north eight leagues off; wee perceived that the current set westward. By observation of the starre in the Great Beares backe we were in five degrees and thirtie minutes.

The fourth and fift of Aprill we perceived the current had set

<sup>1</sup> Johanna, the principal island of the Comoro group.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is interpolated by Purchas.

<sup>3</sup> Probably a misprint for *poderosa* (i.e. powerful).

<sup>4</sup> The four stars of the Southern Cross.

us five leagues and two third parts to the north, being in one degree and fiftie minutes, when by our way wee should have been in one degree thirtie three minutes. We found a like current on the ninth. The two and twentieth wee found that the current had carried us in foure dayes thirteene leagues to the south of our computation. The third of May, at noone, wee were in foure degrees and thirtie minutes, and found that since the former noone the current had carried us foure leagues south of our computation. We had sight of Sumatra. The like we found at noone the next day. Wee saw the Ile of Enganio<sup>1</sup>, the north point bearing south-west eight leagues off. The sixt, at noon, we were in five degrees and thirtie seven minutes, caried to the south of our accounts five leagues by the current. We saw the south point of Sumatra east south-east low by the water.

On the seventh we were at noone in sixe degrees and ten minutes, the current having set us sixe degrees and an halfe to the south of our accounts.

This morning we saw the Salt Ile, which is in the entrance of the Straights of Sunda, bearing east, two third parts north. The tenth of May the south-east winds began to blow fresh, onely now and then a gust which would sometimes alter it, and that about the change or full of the moone, or else we had it alway betweene the south south-east and the east south-east, but most commonly at south-east. On the tenth the Generall (wee being able to doe no good the other way) thought best to beare up to the north of the Salt Iles<sup>2</sup>, where under the north end of the northermost wee anchored in twentie fadoms oaze, within three quarters of a mile of the shoare, finding the like depth all alongst the north end of this iland in that distance. Betweene the high Salt-Ile and this is Pumicestone-Ile, which alwaies burneth and

<sup>1</sup> Engano, lying off the south-west coast of Sumatra

<sup>2</sup> The Salt Isles (or Salt Hills, as they are sometimes termed) are the Krakatoa group of islands in the middle of the Sunda Strait. They are three in number—Krakatoa itself (definitely identified as 'the Salt-Hill' in *Purchas*, vol. 1, p. 620), Lang, and Verlaten. The last-named is an active volcano, and it is doubtless the 'Pumicestone-Ile' of the text, while 'Coco' Island is apparently the Lang Island of the present day. Krakatoa is of course also a volcano, but it seems to have been quiescent at that time.

In *The Voyage of Capt. Best* (p. 71) I suggested that Sebuku and Sebesi formed part of the Salt Isles; but I now think that view wrong.



casts forth pumicestones like to Fuego<sup>1</sup>. The northermost we called Coco, of the fruit found there. These pumicestones we cast into the water, which swam like corke. The twelfth the pinnasse was sent to Pulo-Beced<sup>2</sup> for water; it was brackish. On the sixteenth our men found a pond of fresh water on the north end of the Salt Ile, in the flat ground by the waters side, and filled water there. We set saile, thinking to have gotten to the south of the Salt Ile, the winde being at north-east, but could not prevaile against the currant. The nineteenth we were in sixe degrees, five minutes of south latitude.

The twentieth, the current north north-west and north-west; whereas before for ten degrees it had set directly west betweene those islands.

*After much contending with the weather and current*<sup>3</sup>, having had very good water from Palmeto Ile<sup>4</sup>, halfe a mile within the east point in a sandy cove, the first of June we set saile and stood to the south, making a south-west way by meanes of the current that sets west south-west, alongst the shoare.

On the three and twentieth of June Master Jordan came aboard, and the next [day] our Generall sent a present to the King of Bantam. Note, that while we rid in the straits mouth we found the current from twelve at noone till foure in the morning to runne very swift, and from thence till noone very easie.

Sunday, the sixth of August, our Generall departed this life.

The tenth of October Captaine Jordan came in the juncke from Jacatra<sup>5</sup>, and related his kind entertainment; the King being wholly devoted to us and hating the Dutch.

The seven and twentieth of November the Flemmings set upon Kewee his house (he was our merchant to buy pepper for

<sup>1</sup> The reference is apparently to Fogo, one of the Cape Verde Islands. It contains an active volcano.

<sup>2</sup> 'Beced' is probably an error for 'Becee,' i.e. Pulo Sebesi, about 6 miles north of Lang Island.

<sup>3</sup> Another interpolation by Purchas, who in a marginal note says: 'These marine discourses are here abridged and cut off; partly because I thinke few will much affect that part, and now many mariners know them by experience; and in the borrowed books of the Companie I was forced to be scribe myselfe, the tediousnesse of which wearied me. Yet have I, now in one and another while in another, expressed the most materiall in this kinde.'

<sup>4</sup> This name has not survived.

<sup>5</sup> See Jourdain's letter in *Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 272.

us), with intent to keepe him prisoner in their owne house; but Captaine Jordan, having notice thereof, presently went and rescued him in despite of the Flemmings, and brought him to the English house<sup>1</sup>.

The two and twentieth of December, having received our lading, we left the Road of Bantam. The seventh of January [1616] we were in seven degrees five minutes of south latitude. Wee found that the current had set us south south-east nine leagues in twentie houres; the variation this evening was three degrees fortie minutes north-westing.

The two and twentieth our Generall, Master Thomas Elkington, departed this life.

The first of March we anchored in the Bay of Soldania, our company most part in good health. The next day we set up our tents ashore, landed our sicke men and our water caske[s]. On Sunday the third, Cory came downe unto us, who told us of one Captaine Crosse<sup>2</sup>, which lived upon Penguin Iland<sup>3</sup> with eight men and a boy, to whom Master Dodsworth had given a boat. I sent the pinnasse, which brought three and left there other three. These reported that on Saturday last Captaine Crosse with two others, their boat being split in pieces, made a gingada<sup>4</sup> of timber, and had gotten halfe way betwixt the iland and the ship when two whales rose up by them, one of them so neere that they strooke him on the backe with a wooden spit; after which they sunke downe and left them. Captaine Crosse thus terrified with the whales, and benumbed with the water, returned to the iland; and having shifted a shirt and refreshed himselfe, adventured the second time, giving charge to one of the company to have an eye on him so long as he could see him. This fellow saith he saw him a great way from the iland and on the sudden lost sight of him; which is the last newes of him.

The eight of March (all things ready) we departed, having gotten good store of sheepe and some bullockes.

<sup>1</sup> See Jourdan's letter in *Letters Received*, vol. III, pp. 274, 275.

<sup>2</sup> For the attempt to establish a colony of 'condemned men from Newgate,' with Cross at their head, see *Roe*, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Now known as Robben Island. It is about 5 miles from the northern extremity of the Cape peninsula.

<sup>4</sup> A raft (Port. *jangada*, from Malayālam *channātam*).

From the Tropike till we were in one degree eighteene minutes of south latitude, we met alway with a southerly current, which set us to the south about seven or eight miles in foure and twentie houres. The reason I guesse to be because we were alway to the eastwards of that current, which sets towards the north-west from Saint Helena, so that wee went in the edge of the eddy of the north-west current.

The five and twentieth of June 1616 we arrived in the Downes.

## EXTRACTS FROM A LOG KEPT ABOARD THE *NEW YEAR'S GIFT*<sup>1</sup>

24 [March 1614]. We shortened sayle and stood to the westward tell four a cloke in the morning, and then we had sight of the Canarry Ilandes.

The 5th [May], the *Hector* spronge hur foremaste and had a fishe<sup>2</sup> from the admirall to strengthen it.

The 8th, the *Hectors* maste was finished, and then sett all hur sailes againe.

12 [June]. We begane to louke out for land, our maisters and moste of our marrinors reckninges beinge out.

14 [June]. Tusday. In the morninge we had sight of land as soun as it was day light, beinge within three leages of it, and hasie, thicke wether. We made it to be Cunnie Ilande<sup>3</sup>. It standeth a letell from the maine. Then we bore upe for the rode of Saldanie, beinge some twelfe leages of[f]; but havinge stooode for it till aboute tenne a cloke, at nounge the winde, with sleete and raine, grewe so great that we were fayne to stande of[f] againe for sea, under our courses onely, till aboute midnight; and then, the wether beinge some thinge clearer, we stooode in for the lande againe. And at daye breake we had sight of lande aboute the baye.

Aboute nounge, the 15th daye, we beinge thwarte of Peengwine Ilande [see p. 50], our Generall caused an aincient<sup>4</sup> to be hunge out for a counsell aborde hime, [to decide] whether it were better to refreshe here or to goe aboute the Cape for some other place. But it was agreed upon beste for to put into Saldania, for that divers of our men in all our shippes were sicke of the scurvey. And so presently we put into the rode, beinge some three leages within Pengwine Ilande. This ilande is aboute two leages in

<sup>1</sup> *Marine Records* (India Office), no. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> A stout piece of wood, tied to a damaged mast or yard, to strengthen it.

<sup>3</sup> Cony Island, 35 miles north of Table Bay. The Dutch named it Dassen Island, on account of the abundance of dassies (which the English called conies), and thus is its present designation.

<sup>4</sup> Ancient, or flag. The word is a corruption of 'ensign.'

cumpas, but no inhabitanche therin. Shippes may passe of either side of the ilande into the baye, which is a very great baye and reasonable good ridinge therin. We came to an ancker herein aboute foure a cloke in the afternoone; but the wether beinge some thinge thicke, and it beginning to growe towards night (for ther winter is when our somer is, and contrary their somer when our winter), noone of our boattes wente ashore. And that night at eveninge about six a cloke we loste one of our men over borde, willinge of himselfe.

16 [*June*]. But upon Thursday in the morninge our boattes wente ashore to set up tentes for our sicke men, beinge 16 sicke of the skurvey, and also to provide and make reddy their caske[s] for the takinge in of fresh water. That night we had a great storme from the sea, so that our shippes had a very hard rode-stede of it. And in that storme we loste our longe bote and our jeliwate. The longe bote was tide asterne of our shippe and the jeliwate to the longe bote; but with the violence of the sea they were bothe broken awaye and suncke. But the nexte daye we founde them againe, driven up to the bottome of the baye.

17 [*June*]. The Generall wente ashore, with the moste of the marchantes, with whome I wente also. At our cominge ashore we founde a greate companie of the cuntrie people there by the shore side, but in peasible maner. Theis people are for the moste parte very well limed and of good stature, and of a brownishe complection and of a reasonable good visnomie [i.e. physiognomy], but that they doo besmere themselves with grease and durte and other ilfavord thinges, so that they are very noysome to come neare unto, they doo so smelle. Their apparrell is onely a calves skine loose rapte aboute them, which doothe come letell lower then their middelles; and aboute their privates they have a letell pece of calves skine tide aboute them. Upon their heades they have also a pece of skine. All theies skines that they were are undreste, but are as they come of the bestes backe and noe other wayes. The moste of them doo weare upon their armes brasletes of copper, and some of elliphantes teethe; and about their neckes they hange the goutte of beastes, with garbage and all. And for shewes [i.e. shoes] they have a peese of oxe hide (untande or any thinge), which is tide to their feet. I doo not perseave that they

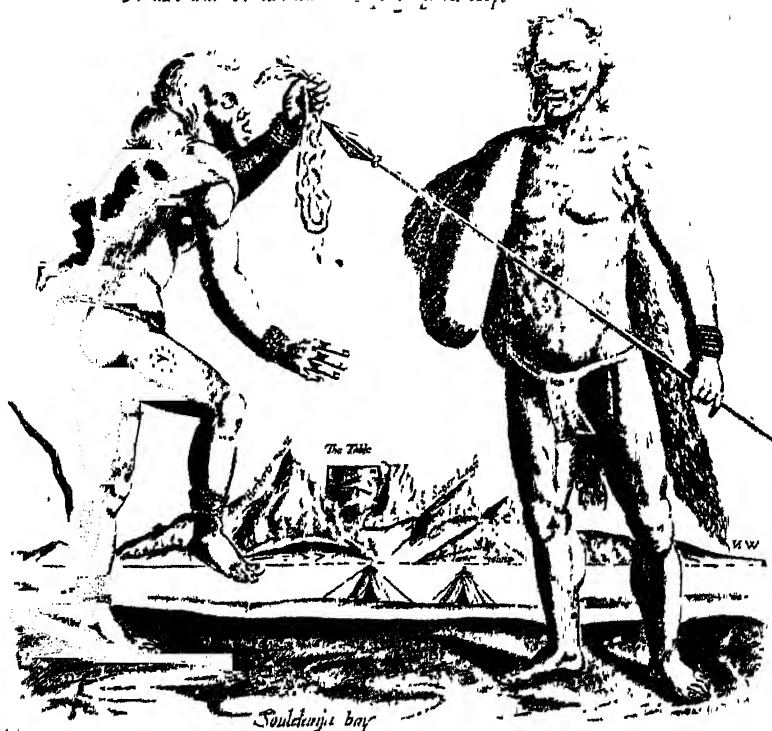
make any difERENCE of persones amongst themselves, but are one as good as another; and without any lawe or religione, but doo live like brute beastes.

The cuntry dooth seme to yealde manye good thinges, as sheepe and oxen good store; wherof they brought us doune, the time of our beinge heare, some 50 in all. For the sheepe we gave them three smalle peces of copper, and for their oxen five peces. Copper, brase, and iron is all the comodities that they doo desire. Also there is greate store of deare, and also many wilde beastes, as liones, tigers, lepers [i.e. leopards], foxes, and manye other sor[t]es; and also estreges [i.e. ostriches], the people bringinge downe manye of their egges and fethers for to selle. All the time of our beinge here we sente out daly two of our botes into the fresh water river; which continually goote good store of fishe, beinge breame and suche like fishe; which was a great refreshinge to our menn.

So, our men beinge well recovred and our water tooke in (which for our shipe was aboute [blank] toun), and our longe boate and jeliwate beinge againe mended; and also havinge cut dow[n]e some trees for mastes and yarde for our pinnace againste we shoulde sett hur upe, and all our buissen[ess] well ended (thankes be to God), upon Thursday, the 30th of June, we wayed ancker aboute three a cloke in the afternoone; but, the winde growinge calme and night cominge onne, we came to an ancker to the east side a Pengwin Ilande, in good grownde, hard by the ilande.

1 *Julye*. The nexte daye, beinge calme, I, with divers of our merchantes, wente ashore upon the ilande; wher we fownde a fatte sheepe, which we broughte aborde. The iland is all a sandye grownde, and dooth yealde nothinge that good is. It is full of the fowles caled pengwines, which are letell bigger then a ducce, but cane not flie. They have a kinde of harshe doune upon them, without fethers. Yf yow come near them, they will not muche shune yow, but stande gazinge upon yow. Of theies the ilande is very full, as also of snakes and rattes in very greate abundance. Upon the rockes we sawe greate store of scalles, in hundrethes of a floke, settinge like beares whelpes; wherof we kilde a great maney. Also we sawe a whayle that had bine caste

A man and woman at the Cape of Good Hope



NATIVES AT THE CAPE

up ther, which was in lengthe twenty three of my paces. The openinge of the mouthe was [*blank*] yardes longe.

5th [*August*]. In the eveninge, we thinckinge our selves to be neare lande, our master caused our sayle to be shortned. And one of our men, goinge up to the spritsale to take in the sale, fell over borde; and before we could make any meanes for the saveinge of hime he was drowned.

6th [*August*]. Standinge in for the lande still, in the morninge we had sight of St. Lawrence Ilande (which is the greatest ilande that is knowne to be in the worlde), and fell with the Baye of St. Augustine; where we came to an anker that night aboute 8 acloke, with the *Hector* and *Hope*, in 10 faddome water. But the *Solomon*, beinge put a letell to lewarde of it, could not get in that night; but the nexte daye, beinge Sunday, aboute noone she got in.

7th [*August*]. I wente ashore with the Generall, and wente up some mile into the cuntry, but coulde not see anye of the people nor buye cattell. But cominge backe againe, we saw two men; but they, perseivinge us, rane awaye to the waterside, where lay a cannowe, which they got into, and then they stayed a letell for us. We, cominge neare unto them, made sine of peace; and three of us, layinge downe our weapons, wente neare unto them. And makinge sines unto them for cattell, they made sines againe that we should goe to the other side of the river, beinge in the bottome of the baye. So we, leaving of [for?] them a wodden-hafted knife, lefte them, and they rowed awaye with their kannowes to the place where they had pointed us unto.

Their kannowes are smalle bottes cutte out of the boddye of a tree and made like unto a hoges troughe, but onlye that it is sharpe cut at the bottom and the endes, somethinge like a botte. In the middell of the boote they have two pooles [i.e. poles] of eache side lienge over the sides of the bottes a good waye; and at the endes of those pules they have two krose pules, which are to ballence the botte. But for all this they are so unsteddy that, yf one of us shoulde goe into it, we shoulde bringe it over our heades. Theyre owres are very shorte, not above a yarde longe apece, and but of a leetel breadthe at the rowing ende. But with theis bootes and owers, two of theis men in a boote, with one



ower apece, will rowe a greate pace. More then two men one kannowe will not houlde; and they sett at each ende one, and in the middell they put fishe and other small matters.

8th *daye*. In the morninge we wente ashore agane. Goinge upe the freshe water river with our bootes some mile and then landinge, [we] wente upe and downe the woodes for to meete with some of the people, but coulde not see anye of them. But we came unto their small shedes or howsen, which were made only with a fewe sticks [?] stucke into the grownde, and so kivered with canes and leafes of trees. In theis shedes we fownde fishing nettes very well made of the barke of trees, made like [ours?], and cotten which they had bine spinning of, made into a very good and fine thrūd. Other smalle toyes and th[ings] were there, but not of anye vallew; which we left [as] we fownde, not takinge awaye anyethinge, but left them a[ll] and soe departed, because we perseaved the people to be ferfull of us. And so that daye and the nexte takinge in of water and woode, thinkinge to have gone awaye.

The nexte daye, beinge Wedensdaye and the 10th daye, in the morninge the Generall sente the bootes ashore (not thinkinge to have sente ashore anye more); but the bootes coming neare the shore in the freshe water river, did see some of the people, which made sines that they should come ashore, leavinge their weapones; and they cawsed one to carrye away their owne weapones, which were dartes [i.e. assegais]. So our men, goinge ashore, were entertayned by the people with shew of great joye and dancinge, and gave unto our men milke for to drinke, and made sines that some of them would goe aborde of our shipes. So one of our bootes carried five of them aborde our admirall. When they came to our Generall, they made lowe obesience unto hime and they presented unto hime some milke, and made shewe that the nexte daye they woulde bringe downe some cattell. Our Generall made them welcome, given [i.e. giving] unto them some knifes and beades, which they semed to be thanckfull for; and soe departed ashore againe.

The 11th and 12th daye we wente ashore; and then the people, accordinge to their promise, broughte downe kine and milke; and we bought some 20 kine and bulles, some of them for money

and some for silver chanes. Those that we had for money we payed 5s. apece in Englishe sixpences; and those that we bought for the chanes we had three kine for a pece of chane worth 10s. Theis oxen ar very large and [as] good as in Englande, and it should seeme that they have greate aboundance of them, onlye diffring from ours in their backes; for all the cattell of this ilande have greate bunches growing betwene their backes and their shoulders, bigger then the bunche of a camell. The bunches are very good meate as any other part of the oxe, beinge of grisles and fatte<sup>1</sup>. We sawe noe other sorte of beastes. We bought milke for beades and other smalle trifelles, but for their kine they would take nothinge but silver.

What comodities this playce will yealde I cane not perseive; but the cuntrie semeth to be very fertill and good, if it were well manuered<sup>2</sup>, beinge in a very houlsome and good ayre. The people that I saw were very proper, bigge and well proportioned, and of a blake culler, but not so blake as negroes, but well visnomed<sup>3</sup>; havinge longe and blacke hayre upon their heades, hanginge downe to their shoulders and pleated very handsomly. They use to annoynt their heades with some oyle or butter, that the sune should not pearse them, they wearinge nothinge uppon their heades nor bodyes, but only aboute their privie partes a smalle mantell made of cotten yarne, beinge of two or three severall cullers, and some smalle beades aboute their neckes and armes, and some uppon their leages. Theis people seeme to be of very good understanding, and have some government and chiefe rulers amongste them. For their religion, I thincke them to be Mahemitanes<sup>4</sup>, for they ar sercumsiced. All their weapones that we could see were dartes, with iron heades very well and neatly roughete, and some of them done aboute with copper; so that it is likly that the ilande doothe yealde of bothe sortes of those meattelles<sup>5</sup>, for they will not buye anye of them, setting lighte by bothe of

<sup>1</sup> For a good account of the cattle of the island see Prof. C. Keller's *Madagascar*, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> In the now obsolete sense of 'cultivated.'

<sup>3</sup> He is trying to write 'physiognomied.'

<sup>4</sup> He was mistaken. Circumcision is general, but it has no religious signification.

<sup>5</sup> Madagascar has plenty of iron, and the working of the ore into bars has been practised from an early date. It also produces gold, silver, copper, and zinc.

them; but they desire silver above Gould or any other meattells. In barginninge with theis people we fownde them to be very honest and trew; and yf we had let them have money or any other thinge in their handes, they would not offer to rune awaye with it, allthoughe we had let them goe a good waye from us, but would return and give it us againe. All the while of our beinge with them we received not any distaste from them, neither one waye or other.

This playce doothe yealde great store of woode in all partes as fare as we could see. They are trees of seaverall sortes, moste of them of a sappie woode; we cuttinge some that, as soone as they were cute, there would ronne forth of them a substance like unto turpentine in great aboundance. Also there is many tameringe [i.e. tamarind] trees; which are great trees of bodye and have a frute which doothe growe muche like to the beane codes; but the substance within is extreame sower, beinge a extreordinary good frute againste the skurveye. Also there is a great maney trees which beare a kinde of bastard cokernutt, which are not bigger then a ordinary peare in England. Betwene the outtermuste skine (which is of a brownishc red culler) and the nutte there is a drie substance (that is some thinge sweete), which the people of the cuntrie doo eate for breade, havinge noe other kinde of breade<sup>1</sup>.

Thus havinge dispatched our buissines and refreshed ourselves, we wayed ancker from hence the 12th daye at night aboute aleaven of the cloke, bescechinge God to blesse our furdre proseding[s].

8 *September*. In the morninge we had sight of an ilande, which at firste was thoughte to be Sucatora; but aboughte nounce we made it to be the ilande of Abdelacore<sup>2</sup>, which is within 18 leagues of Sucatora. After sight of this we stode our course for Sucatora. So all that night we boare smalle sale, and in the morninge betimes we had sight of Sucatora Ilande. So

9 *September*. all that daye we stode alongste the [north?] side of it, with a very stife galle of winde. And

<sup>1</sup> Mr J. E. Dandy, of the British Museum (Natural History), thinks that this tree 'may have been *Pandanus edulis*, a Screw-pine found in Madagascar whose fruits contain a sweet flesh which is eaten by the natives.'

<sup>2</sup> Abd-al-Kurī, about 50 miles from Cape Guardafui. The island is 20 miles in length, and from 1 to 3½ in breadth.

aboute two of the cloke in the after[noon] we paste by the rode of Tameringe [Tamrida], wher we sawe a smalle towne, the howsen beinge builte of stone and whited over. And we mought see the Kinges howse, beinge hïer then all the reste, with a turrette atope of it. As we paste by here we gave the Kinge three peces of ordinance, and all the reste of the shippes showtinge of some. Passage by this rode, aboute sixe a cloke in the after-noune we came to an anker in the rode of Delashawe, beinge a very good rode for the westerly mounson, but bad for the esterly mounson; but Tamerin rode is good in the esterly mounson, and bad in the westerly.

At our cominge hether we founde a smalle shippe of Guzzerate [Gujarāt], which had bine here all this mounsone. Our Generall, as sowne as we were at an anker, sente aborde them, to knowe what newes. They tould us our factores at Surrate were well and had trade there, but that two of our shippes had had a fight with the Portingalles shippes by Surrate, and that they thought one of the shippes (beinge the smaller) was suncke<sup>1</sup>; for that overnight she was seene, but in the morninge was not, and the Portingalles were aboughte the mouthe of the rode, so as they thoughte they could not get out, but were suncke. Also they tould us that the Mogure and the Decanes were fallen out with the Portingalles and had wares againste the Portingalles.

This eveninge the Kinge, seinge our shippes pase by his howse and kepinge our course for his rode, came himselfe downe; and the *Hectores* boate goinge ashore with twoe marchantes were kindly entertained by the Kinge. And he tould them that what the island could afforde we should have, and he sente our Generall two bagges of dattes for a presente.

10 [September]. So the next morninge, being Satterday, the Generall, with moste of all the marchantes, wente ashore, and carried unto the King a present of three yardes of violett culler broadclothe and [blank] yardes of stammell [i.e. scarlet] culler clothe, twoe fowling peces, twoe sworde blades, with a lookinge glasse and six knives and a smalle barrell (20 pounds) of powder. At our cominge ashore the Generall and all of us were very kindly entertained by the Kinge, he cominge downe halfe waye

<sup>1</sup> This was not correct.

from his tente, which was hard by the water side; beinge accompened with aboute a hundreth men, with peces [i.e. guns] and swordes, and two men playinge upon kettell drumes and two men upon winde instrumentes, not muche unlicke in sownde to baggpipes. Havinge mete the Generall, the[y] very kindly imbrased eache other; and we bowinge ourselves to the Kinge, he did the like to us againe. And then, the Kinge and our Generall havinge arme in arme, the Kinge leade him to his tente, wher were two carpetes sprede upon the sande; the Kinge and the Generall settinge downe upon one and some of the chefe marchantes upon the other; the reste of us standinge by. After some kinde speches of salutationes, the Generall caused the present to be brought by some of the marchantes unto the Kinge; which he very kindly accepted of, and the Kinge presented the Generall with 10 gottes. After this we had speches with the Kinge aboute his alloies Secotrina<sup>1</sup>; demandinge his quantety and his prise. His quantety he thought was some 30 kintalles [see p. 61], and his prise was 40 rialles of eight per kintall; and at this time we could not get hime to abate any thinge of it. So for this time we tooke our leave of the Kinge to goe aborde our shippes. The Kinge accompened the Generall halfe waye to the water side, and then parted to his tente, and we to our shippes<sup>2</sup>.

Sunday, the 11 daye, one of our botes being ashore, the Kinge sente one of his souldiers aborde our shipe with a present of rise and butter, orrenge and dattes; and the Generall sent the Kinge backe againe, by one marchant and our purser, a Spanishe pike and a small barrell of oyle; which the King very thanckfully received. The purser, beinge ashore, bought some gootes, at a rialle of eight per pece, and three kine, at nine rialles of eight per pece. The gootes and kine of this place are very leane and smalle.

<sup>1</sup> The Socotrine aloes (*Aloe Perryi*) were in special esteem. Garcia da Orta says they were worth four times as much as any other variety.

<sup>2</sup> We may quote for comparison Saris's account (*Purchas*, vol. 1, p. 339) of his reception in Feb. 1612: 'The King bid us welcome, and feasted all the company in his royal maner; himself being richly vested in crimson velvet, laid rich with gold lace. His house was built of freestone, castle-like. He had above an hundred attendants, wherof about fifty were wel apparelled, according to the Moors fashion; the rest were naturalls of the island. After many complements and curtesies, at night we took our leave of him. His name was Sultan Amur Bensaid [Amr-bin-Said], sonne to the King of Cushin [i.e. Kishin], upon the Arab side.'

12 [*September*], beinge Mundaye. The Generall called a counsell, to agree aboute the buyinge of the Kinges alloes; and it was concluded that they would give 30 rialles of eight per kintalle for it. And so pressently the chefe marchantes went ashore aboute it; [and] cominge to the Kinge in his tente, after some speches of curtesie, fell in conference with hime aboute his alloes. He standinge at firste to have 40 rialles, and then fell to 35; but the marchantes tould him their resolution was to give noe more then 30, desiringe of hime his resolute aunser, for if they did not now buye it, they could not longer staye aboute it, the time of the mounson drawinge so neare to an end. So the Kinge made ansure that he would not stande with our nation for so smalle a matter, but agreed we should have it at our price<sup>1</sup>.

13 [*September*]. So the next morninge myselfe and twoe more were appoynted to take the waight of it. The Kinge appoynted one of his chefe men aboute hime for to waye it unto us. We wayed it by a steller<sup>2</sup>, which is the kinde of beame of this ilande. We wayed halfe a kintalle at a time, but had very neare waight. We received in all of their grosse waight 2832 rottelles, which is  $28\frac{32}{100}$  kintalles, every kintalle beinge 100 rottelles, and the kintalle or 100 rottelles make 98 pounds Englishe waight<sup>3</sup>. We had allowed, for tare of the baskettes wherin it was wayed, 110 rottelles; but for the skines wherin the alloes itselfe is put we could get noe allowance. So the nett waight was  $27\frac{11}{50}$  kintalles. At 30 rialles per kintalle [this] came to  $816\frac{1}{2}$  rialles; which some of money we payd before the Kinge unto hime that had wayed it to us.

This daye our Generall came ashore againe, for to take his leafe of the Kinge, our buisenes beinge now dispatched for

<sup>1</sup> In 1609 the ships of the Fourth Voyage paid only 20 rials of 8 per *hintār* (*Jourdain*, p. 112). Saris gave 30 rials for one lot and 38 for another.

<sup>2</sup> As Mr Moreland has suggested, this may possibly represent the Port. *estaleiro*, for although that word strictly means the 'stocks' employed in shipbuilding, there are indications that it was sometimes extended to cover wooden frames for other than naval purposes. The King's weighing machine had probably a cumbrous framework of wood, which may have suggested the use of the term for want of a better description.

<sup>3</sup> The *hintār* (of 100 *raïl*) was reckoned by Jourdain at 100 lb. and by Peyton at  $103\frac{1}{2}$  lb. (*Jourdain*, pp. 112, 359). On p. 161 Downton takes it at 96 lb., while Saris (*Purchas*, vol. I, p. 352) puts it at 104 lb. Elkington, on the other hand, says 94 lb. (p. 195).

which we came. And he, with the reste of the marchantes, brought their provisiones ashore and dined with the Kinge, settinge rounde aboute hime upon carpettes; the Kinge eatinge some meate with them and drinkinge water and shugar; but he would not drinke any kinde of stronge drinke (beinge againste his religion, he beinge a Mahumettan). Thus having dined and paste awaye moste parte of the afternounge in discourse, the Generall and all of us tooke our leafes of the Kinge and the chefe men aboute hime; the Kinge and all of the reste seminge to be sorry for our suddayne departure.

This Kinge is blake of complection, with longe blake hayre upon his heade and bearde, and is of a middell stature, but of a very good presence, and very wise and diskrete and of good speeche and behavior and very curtious<sup>1</sup>. His apparrell was a gowne of rought velvett, and under his gowne a loose garment of clothe of gould with slefes [i.e. sleeves] to it of striped silke stoofe. Upon his heade he wore a [turban?] of linen, striped with gould accordinge to the Moores fashion. He weareth neither shooes nor stockings, but goeth bare leged. And all the people of the cuntrie goe with [turbans?] upon their heads, and some of them waskotes of wollen clothe and mantelles of cotten yarne; but the poorest have some thinge aboute their middelles. The people of the iland are of a middell sisc, well proportuned, and generally blake of culler, but some blacker then other some; fewe so blake as negroes. Theis people live in great subjection to the Kinge, havinge noe substance of their owne but what the Kinge pleaseth to give them; neither cane they kill a goote or henne nor any vittell elce without the Kinge give them leave. The Kinge buyeth all and selleth all himselfe, and distributeth it as he pleaseth.

The ilande is aboute 50 miles in length, and [blank] miles in breadthe<sup>2</sup>. It is very highe, stoney, and rokey all the cuntrie over; and yeldeth not muche variety nor plenty of provision for the sustinance of man. It yeldeth some fewe sheepe and kinne

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Roe, who called at the island about a year later, speaks well of the Sultan (*Embassy*, p. 20). See also Downton's account of his previous visits (in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*).

<sup>2</sup> Sokotra is 72 miles long and 22 miles broad.

[i.e. kine], and some reasonable quantety of gootes and hennes. For frute they have only orrengees and dates. The dates are the chife sustenance of the people. The comodities that it yeldeth is onlye alloes Sucatrina, but in noe great quantety. Twoe tun is the moste it will yeald in a yeare. This alloes is made of the juce of a hearbe very like unto the semper vivett<sup>1</sup>. Also here is some sanguis dragonis<sup>2</sup> to be had; but as yet there hathe bine noe great quantety made of it, the Kinge not knoweing it was a comodity vendable. The sanguis dragonis is the gome of a tree onlye, with[out?] any mixture or compounde unto it. Theies are the comodities only that I could perseive this ilande to yealde, or that I could learne.

14 [September]. Havinge dispatched our buisenes to our contente, upon Wedensday morninge at sixe a cloke we wayed anker from Sucatora for Surrate, desiringe God to sende us a good pasage thether.

<sup>1</sup> Downton, in his journal of the Sixth Voyage, twice compares the 'alloes Socatrina' with the 'sempervive' or 'semperviva' (which the *Oxford English Dictionary* identifies with the houseleek) This seems to show that the writer of the present account was acquainted with Downton's narrative.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Dandy notes: 'the *Sanguis Draconis* of Sokotra comes from a Dragon-tree, *Dracaena cinnabari*, which is peculiar to the island though it is allied to the common Dragon-tree, *Dracaena Draco*, of the Canary Islands.'



# DODSWORTH'S JOURNAL

*A MEMORIALl of our PROCEEDINGS in the SECOND VOYADGE to the EASTE INDYES, for [the] Joynd Stock, with foure good shippes, the New Yeers Guifte, Hector, Hope and Sallomon, all under the comaunde of the Worshipful NICHOLAS DOWNTON, Generall, set fourth by that Honorable and Righte Worshipful Companye, the Marchants of London traydinge for those partes; which voyadge God in mercye make prosperous, and send us in salfty to retorn<sup>1</sup>.*

THE 25th [February], beinge Frydaie, Sir Thomas Smith with the rest of the Comyttes<sup>2</sup> haveing vewed our men and ordered the comissions, departed Gravsende for London; at which time, after the sea costome, we saluted them with our greate ordnance; we, after thire departure, staiinge the opportunitye of a wynde untill the eight and twentie ditto, at which tyme, the winde verryng to the westwarde, wee sett saile, but the nighte aprocheinge and the tyde bent against us, anckored nere to Sundberryness<sup>3</sup>. And the next morneinge proceeded forward, but beinge little winde got not mutch aheade. This nighte in the eveninge the *Hector* touched upon the mydle grounde, which accident caused us mutch to doubt of hir salftie; whereupon the Generall tooke his pinis and went aboard, geveinge order to the reste of the shippes companies to assist them with their men and boates; which

<sup>1</sup> From a manuscript journal preserved among the *Marine Records* (no. XIX) at the India Office. The contents are described on the fly-leaf as having been 'observed and gathered and also written by Master Edward Dodsworth'; but apparently 'written' here means 'composed,' for a comparison with Dodsworth's letters shows that the journal is not in his hand. Probably, upon his return, he wove into a narrative the rough jottings of his journal, and then had the present copy made by a scrivener for presentation to the East India Company. The view that it is merely a copy is supported by the fact that many small errors occur in it.

During the outward voyage Dodsworth was on board the *New Year's Gift*.

<sup>2</sup> Committees (i.e. Directors of the Company).

<sup>3</sup> Shoeburyness.

little prevailed untill the tide of flud, at which time shee freed herselfe.

March the fourth, at eighte of the clock in the morneinge, we anckor[e]d in the Downes, and thire were forced to staie for the comissions<sup>1</sup>, which with divers of our marchantes and [the] *Sallomons* boate was then ashor. Whereupon Master Sallmon<sup>2</sup>, Master Mountenye<sup>3</sup> and myselfe went to Sandwich, for the supplinge some wantes and dispedinge our people away; for questionles, had the comissione bene aboarde, the Generall thire had maide noe staie, the wynde then soe fare at north east.

At our comeinge on shoare Master Sallmon woulde not permitt the *Sallo[mon's]* men to carrye those provissions aboarde theie had provided, for [fear of] oppressinge thire boate, in regarde of the extrémitie of wether; but caused them to put off emptie. After thire departure all that night theie tried to gette windwarde aboarde, but through the forcible winde againste them were constrained to seeke some restinge place, the men beinge allmost starved in the could. The next daie we all determ[i]ned to goe for Dover, and thire to hire a catch [i.e. ketch] and by that meanes to gett aboarde. But comeinge to Deale, the watermen thire rather advised us to goe for Romansgate<sup>4</sup>, for that, the storme incresinge, we could not plye it to windward. Whereupon we tooke horse and departed. Comeinge to Romansgate, the sea broke in soe vyolentlie at the peere that the fishermen woulde not undertake to sett us aboarde, defferinge us untill the next morneinge. Some two houres after came a messinger overland from Dover with a letter from the pursers mate of the *Sallomon*, ymportinge of the dainger the men and boate were in after thire departure from Sandwich; that all that night in mutch

<sup>1</sup> There had been some delay in preparing the commissions and instructions, and it was not until 1 March that they were finally approved and despatched under the care of Andrew Ellam, one of the Company's two book-keepers. Apparently he was directed to go to Gravesend, under the impression that the ships were still there, and doubtless this contributed to the delay of which Dodsworth complains.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Salmon was one of the 'Committees' who was frequently employed in the despatch of shipping owing to his technical knowledge (see *Best*, p. 263).

<sup>3</sup> Richard Mountney, the Company's 'husband.'

<sup>4</sup> Ramsgate. There appears to be no authority for the form given in the text.

dainger theie were forced to keepe amongst the shoare, sekinge some place of saltie, but founde not anie, untill such time theie came to Dover; that three of thire men were verie sick and little hope of thire recoverye; and being destitute of monie, desired of Master Mounteny to be supplied for defraydinge of thire charges; which immediatlie was done (in regard theie were sente in the Companies bussines), and the messinger retornde with the monie and letter.

The 6 ditto the winde decresinge and the wether cleeringe up, the fishermen agreed to set us aboard for eighte pounds, which, although unresonable, yet in regarde of the importance of the shippes staie and the nescessitye of the time, we were constrained to geve. The wether beinge calme in the afternoone, we could not aborde before late in the eveninge; at which time Master Ellam, haveinge delivered the comissions, invoyces, with the boxes of successione<sup>1</sup>, departed aborde the other shippes for perfectinge the pursers accomptes. This night died one of our carpenters mates, whose through his unsatiabie drinckinge on shoare was cheeflie the cause of his owne death.

The nexte morneinge, beinge the 7 ditto, with a faire winde at N.E. we sett saile from the Downes forward of our voyag, houldinge our course amongst the coaste, and were the ninth at nighte some thirteene leages from the Landes Ende, yt bearinge from us west north weste; and foure houres after lost sight of it, stereinge awaie south west.

The fyfteenth, at foure of the clocke in the afternoone we had sighte of six saile of shippes to windwarde, standinge directlie with us, with whome when we came up with, [we] found to be Brittaners<sup>2</sup>, and, as we conjectured, bounde for France. The next daie, the winde decresinge and the wether mistye, the Generall (in regarde the shippes were fur distant each from other) caused the gooner to geve them a warninge peece, wherby to have them come more neere together, for that the *Hector* shott two peces to

<sup>1</sup> The two or more sealed boxes, which were to be opened in turn upon the death of the commander of the fleet; wherein would be found 'a writing subscribed by the Governor and sealed with the seal of the Company,' nominating the person who was to succeed to the vacant office (see *The First Letter Book*, pp. 345, 385, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> Belonging to Brittany.

geve us notice, as we thought, where theie were; but the nexte morneinge we understoode the cause was at the duckinge of two of thire men for offences comitted. But, for more spareinge of thire poother, the Generall apointed other punishmentes for the like offences.

The twentye thre ditto, beinge not mutch winde, the Generall sent me aboarde the *Hector* and other shipps with the copies of the comissions for sea causes, articles for reformations of vices, orders for companie keepinge, with directions to the cape marchantes for orderinge the expence of victualls<sup>1</sup>; the Companie in England haveinge refferd that bussines unto them, but before these directions geven some of the masters had intreuded themselves into that bussines with a stricte hand towards the marchantes, which nowe theie were to surrender (contrary to thire desire).

The foure and twentye ditto, we had sighte of the Grand Canaryes, and were the nexte daie at noone in the latitude of 27.10<sup>mts</sup> some 8 leges off Fortaventura [Fuerteventura], beringe N.E. from us; at which time with the winde still contynewinge notherlie, we steerd awaie south and by easte.

The 19th [April] we crossed the Equanoctiall, beinge the next daie at noone to the sowthward one de[gree] ten min[u]tes.

The fourth of May in the afternoone, the *Hector* beinge astarne, we descerned that she had shortned saile. Whereupon co[n]-jecturing some accidente to have happened hir, [we] laie by the leye, and at thire comeinge [up] with us founde theie had sprunge thire foremaste; for reparinge wherof we spared them twoe fishes, thire owne store beinge formerlie spent. And the eighte ditto it beinge finished we sett saile againe, proceedinge forwarde. The 14, the winde beinge at south begane to blowe exceedinge mutch, contynewinge a storme untill the 16th; dueringe which storme we doubted to bere mutch saile for keepinge companie with the *Hector*.

The 21th died John Collins, our cheffe trumpeter, whoe never had recovered his health since his comeinge from England, being thire longe before his comeinge to sea troubled with an ague.

<sup>1</sup> For some of these see the *Supplementary Calendar*, p. 42, and *Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 23.

From the 24 to the 5 of Jeune we were hindred with manie calmes, more then usuallie haith formerlie bene in these voyages; but the sixt the winde came up at west and W.N. west, mutch to our comfortes, beinge then, as we expected [i.e. calculated], 340 leagues from the shore.

The 11, beinge Whittson even, the Generall called for the master and his mates reckonings, whoe were 100 leagues from the shore, thincking the next daie to have sene the lande. But thire reckonings [were] out; and, haveinge expected to have sene land two daies before, theie compared thire plattes [i.e. charts] and found seaven degre[es] difference of a greate circle from the meridian of the Lizard of England, the Cape lyeinge so mutch more to the westwarde.

The 13 at night, the wether beinge thick and cloudie, our maister caused sale to be shortned, he doubtinge of his distance from the shore, haveinge not formerlie bene thire. In the morneinge earlie we had sight of Coonye Ilande [see p. 52], fiftene legues distante from Salldania to the norwarde. From hence we kept alongst untill the eveninge, and then, the wether beinge verie hasie, we taked about to the westwarde untill the next morneinge; at which time we had sighte of the lande entringe the baye. But the winde at north blowinge in and increasinge mutch caused us to kepe to westwarde of it till [the wind] shoulde decrease, for that the winde at north or north north west maketh the roade verie daingerous, as formerlie some of our shippinge had founde by experience.

The 15, the winde still contineweinge at north north west [and] still more incresinge, and haveinge torned too and againe almost two daies, hopeinge of the clereinge of the wether, and findeinge little alteration, the Generall (for that the roade being daingerous, and he not willinge to relie on his owne judgment in a cace soe doubtfull) put forthe his flagg of councell for the cape marchantes and maisters to come aboarde, to have thire advice. Where at thire comeinge it was thoughte fittinge not to passe the Cape, manie of our people beinge downe of the scourvye; and allsoe of the conveniencye of watinge thire and badnes at St. Lawrence Ilande.

This nighte, at foure of the clock in the eveninge, we anckored

in Saldania Baye, 6 fathome water; the weste[rn] pointe beringe west north west, the nother channell north. This baye lieth in the latitude of 34 degrees, 8'; longitude from the meridian of the Lizarde, 28 degrees of a greate circle<sup>1</sup>, and the varyation one degree thirtie minutes, the north pointe varieinge to the westwarde.

After our anckoringe the winde incresed mutch, which strayed our grounde takle [*sic*]; and aboute tenn of the clock, through the extremitie of winde, our longe boate broke hir steme and drove awaie with the jolliewatt into the bottome of the baye, where the next morneinge we founde them drive[n] ashore and mutch prejudic[e]d with the vyolent waves. And in regarde of our needfull use of them at present for dispeede in watringe, the Generall caused most of the carpenters to worke upon them untill such time theie were repaired againe.

The next morneinge comeinge ashoare, we founde engraven upon the stones the arivall of the *Expedition* homwardes March the 21 anno 1613 [1614], departinge the 31<sup>th</sup> dito<sup>2</sup>; of whose suden retorne we mutch doubted, leaste by thire proceedings we might receive some prejudice in our traide at Suratt, of which as then we had good incoradgmente. Likewise thire we founde the arivall of Captaine Best with the *Dragon* homwarde, departing from thence the third of March<sup>3</sup> 1613 [1614], and Richard Petty with the *Concord* outwarde May the nynth, and departed Jeune the third 1614<sup>4</sup>. In the nighte we were forced to garde our boates which were drive[n] ashoare, leaste the salvadges shoulde have broke them in pecces for thire irone worke.

<sup>1</sup> Compare p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> The *Expedition* (Twelfth Voyage), commanded by Christopher Newport, reached the Cape on her return voyage on 21 March 1614. The date given in the text for her departure is confirmed by Elkington (see p. 194); while Edwards (*Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 148) says it was 1 April. The extracts from Peyton's journal given by Purchas (*Pilgrimes*, vol. I, p. 488) make it 9 April, but possibly the editor confused the dates of leaving the Cape and St Helena respectively.

<sup>3</sup> Really 4 March (*Best*, p. 81). As these rock inscriptions were cut before embarking, they necessarily recorded the *intended* date of departure, and this was sometimes delayed.

<sup>4</sup> All these inscriptions are mentioned in *Letters Received*, vol. II, pp. 148, 330, 334. For another, added by Downton's sailors before departure, see *ibid.* pp. 330, 334.

The 17, by order from our Generall every shipp provided for the makeinge of a tente, that the sick men mighte be sent ashore for thire better recoverie dueringe the time of our staie thire; which meanes certainlie is the best that maie be used, for as that desease is bred with long continuance at sea and foule feedinge, soe hardlie can yt be recovered but by meanes from the shore.

The 18, by order from our Generall, the *Hectors* longe bote was sent for the freeinge of ours, in which bussines with the stronge suff she was likewise sunck; at which accidente, with the former, our Generall semed much greved, fearinge the losse of them both, which woulde have bene greatlie a hindrance throughout the whole voyadge. Yet afterwarde, with much trouble and losse of time, theie were both recovered.

Three daies after the Salldanians broughte us downe some fewe cattell; which as formerlie we bought for copper, but nowe (that comoditie [being] plentifull amongstc them) theie altogether desired brasse, of which metle we supposed that Quore, which retorned with us, had geven them knowledg off; which was all the kindnes he requited us with for beinge got ashoare with his tinckerlie treasure. He never afterwarde aforeded us the sighte of his persone; yet (God be thancked) we wanted noe reffreshinge all the time of our staie thire.

The 29th, haveinge repaired our boates and finished all other bussines, we prepared to departe; the tentes and what elce remained ashore beinge brought aboarde. And the next daie in the afternoone set saile to departe; but the winde [being] westerlie without, caused us to ankor that night one [the] north east side of Pengwine Ilande.

The first [July] beinge for the moste part calme, we staid the oppertunity of a winde; the which comeinge upp the next morneinge northerlie, we departed through the wester channell. Yet before we could double the Cape, throughe contrarye windes [we] were driven againe to the norwarde, and all the next daie for the most parte were againe becalmed. The seaventh ditto, in the latitude of thirtie seaven degrees and by estimation some fiftie leages from the shoare, we founde the currant setting stronglie to the S.S.W., hinderinge us at the least 23 leagues in foure and twentie houres. Haveinge the winde for the moste parte from the

eighte to the 30th at easte and south easte, but verie variable upon all pointes of the compasse.

The second [August], we had sighte of a saile at 7 of the clock in the morninge, keepinge hir loofe<sup>1</sup> to the southwarde, which our Generall would have spoke withall, had it not bene for losse of time, which then we counted pretious, beinge in doubtte of saveinge our monson. As we thought, it was a Portingall carreck bounde for India, then workinge for hir best advantadge to get to windewarde.

The third and moste parte of the fourthe, it was expected a counsell to have bene called for our touchinge at St. Lawrence; but, afterwardes the winde incresinge, we had not the like oppertunitie untill our comeinge thither. This nighte, in takeinge in the spritsaile, one of our men fell by the boarde; whoe although he called and cryed for helpe coulde not be releved, it beinge darck and the winde mutch, soe that our shipp in resonable time woulde not flatt.<sup>2</sup>

The 6 ditto, in the fornoone, we had sighte of St. Lawrence Iland, bearinge E. southerlie tenn leagues of; at which time, to geve notice to our consortes, the flagg was caused to be put forth. The 7 in the morneinge Master Edwards and the rest of the cape marchantes came aboarde to vissitt the Generall; where after some conference theie demaunded of him the cause of his touching thire, for that the saveinge of our monzone was verie doubtfull and of greate importance. Where he aunswered that it was for the suplyinge of some wantes, as of wood and victualls, for the refreshinge his men, and likewise to fill his emptie caske[s] with water. In the eveninge the *Hectors* boate goeing ashore, theie spoke with some of the inhabitantes, whoe maide by singnes great showe of love and frendshipp, and that within three daies we shoulde have sufficient store of cattell or anie other provisions thire countrie aforded.

At thire firste meetinge with the inhabitantes, theie would not come nere untill theie had laide by thire muskets; at which time allsoe theie caused thire dartes to be caried awaie in singe [i.e. sign] of thire harmelesse meaneinge to us. The next morneinge

<sup>1</sup> Keeping close to the wind and continuing her voyage.

<sup>2</sup> Turn her head from the wind, in order to stop or go round on her keel.



the Generall, whom I went to accompanie, rowed up the river to vewe the watringe and conveniencye of woodinge, which we founde to be resonable good, but wante of greate timber, which chefflie we went to seeke for; he purposeinge, if thire we coulde have founde timber, to have furnished himselfe, whereby to have erected a pinis at Suratt. Walkein[g] the woodes we had sighte of some of the poore inhabitantes, whoe as sone as theie perceived us fled from thire tents, leveing theire poore provissions behinde them; but order was geven for noe man to medle or take awaie anie thinge which was thires, but for to encoradge them the General caused his purser to leve a knife in each of thire houses.

The 9, five of the countrie people came aboarde, haveinge as manie of our men ashore untill theie againe retorned. In veweinge the shipp theie semed mutch to delight, promisinge us all kindes [kindness?] we coulde desire, and in fewe daies sufficient of victualls for all our companie. At thire departure the Gene[ral] gave everie of them a knife with some other toyes, the more to perswaide them of our frendshipp with them. At thire comeinge ashore our men were deliverd, whome ducinge the time of thire beinge aboarde had bene intreated verie kindlie.

The 11 ditto, theie brought downe some ten beefes, but would not sell them excepte for smale silver chenes, of which the purser was not provided off. Spanish monie theie would not take; onlie at his partinge sould one of thire kyne for 6s. sterling, which theie mutch more esteeme then Spanishe coyne. The purser at his retorne aboarde acquainted us with thire desire of silver chenes for thire cattell; which coulde not be procurde, but onlie two or three, which we had of boatsons, which were to hange thire whistels in, with the vallew of 14s. sterling. In those chenes he boughte the next daie fyve of thire best cattell, well worth in England 5 poundes the beffe [i.e. ox], allsoe nyne more for 6[s.] sterling apeece.

The 12th at nighte, haveinge gott this little reffreshinge, which our Generall was right glade off for preservation of our peoples health, we parted from Augustine, useinge all deligence to ataine Suratt that yeare, it greatlie concerninge the state of our bussines thire and credit with those people.

The people of St. Lawrence are verie courteous, never once offringe the leaste unkindnes to anie of us. Of stature and complexion tall and black. As we mighte conjecture, of the Mahometan sect, for that by chance we see one of them which had bene circumsized; yet modest of themselves in that kinde, weareing generallie all of them some course girdell or clothe aboute thire mydles, which reacheth downe to thire knees; thire haire, which theie mutch delighte in, is verie longe, pletted like to our horses manes, and noynted with butter, oyle, or such like. Weapons we perceived not anie; theie had onlie some smale darts which cannot be verie daingerous; neither were theie in our sight exquisit with them.

This bay Augustine lieth in the latitude of 23 degrees 35 minits to the southward. The varyation here [is]  $17^{\text{d}} 20^{\text{m}}$ , which differeth from former observations, but the cause maie be onlie in the instrewmentes. We ankored here in 9 fathom, sandie ground, haulfe a myle distante from the shoare, right againste the wester end of the white cliffe, the wester pointe of the land bearinge west haulfe southerlie, and the hill which we terme in forme like Westminster Hall north east by north. Comeinge in we borrowed<sup>1</sup> close alongste the ledge of rockes lieinge, as we enter the baie, on our starborde side, of which thire is no dainger, kepeing anie resonable birth off.

After our departure from hence the Generall, purposing to hould his course betwixte John Denova<sup>2</sup> and Madagasker, in regard of the forcible currant on the wester side, gave directions for the *Sallomon* everie nighte (in regarde shee was the smal shipp) to kepe aheade, and accordinge to order geven them<sup>3</sup> to make singnes to us and the rest with thire severall depthes, that with our greater shippes we mighte the better prevent if anie sudden shoaldinge were; for that in our plattes, laide downe by

<sup>1</sup> To 'borrow' was to approach closely to the land.

<sup>2</sup> Juan de Nova (so named after the Portuguese commander who discovered it in 1501) is a small flat island (about three miles by one) lying in the middle of the Mozambique Channel, in lat.  $17^{\circ} 3' \text{ S.}$  and 75 miles west of Madagascar. It is surrounded by a dangerous reef, which has caused many shipwrecks. For an account of the island see Prof. C. Keller's *Madagascar*, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> For these orders see the *Supplementary Calendar*, p. 43.

the Portingalls, the sands [lie] thirtie leagues from the shoare. Yet this course we helde more co[n]venient, the corrant setting soe stronglie on th'other side.

From the 13th to the 16, steareing alongste north easterlie, we had the winde for the moste parte all the daie off at sea and towards nighte from the lande. The 14th, in the latitude of 21 degrees and 25 min[its], we founde the helpe of a smale corrant, settinge us to the norwarde fyve or six leagues in twentie foure houres. The 18th, beinge Thursdaie, at noone, in the latitude of 17 degres 26 minits, soundinge we had grounde at twentie five fathome, a graye pepperie sand. Contynueinge in those soundinges untill the 21 ditto, where for the most parte we had helpe of a curante; the particulers apearinge of all the soundinges in the booke of courses.

The twentie three, beinge Twesdaie, at five of the clocke in the morneinge we had sighte of two ilandes bereinge north north easte from us, the greater of them semeinge like to Comoro<sup>1</sup>, but by observatione at noone we found our latitude to the southward of Moyella<sup>2</sup>, it lyeinge in twelve degrees thirtie minits; but two houres after had sighte of them bothe. From whence we helde our course alonge for Socotora, with the winde southerlie, the time permittinge us noe staie thire, allthough the place woulde have afforded verie comfortable refreshinge.

The secound [September], we crossed the Equanoctiall and were to the norwarde nexte daie at noone 17 minites; from whence, with the winde faire at south west, we kepte our course and the 8th steared in for the maine, whereby the better to direct our course for Soccotora, thire not doubtinge but to understand the state of our bussines at Suratt. But contrarye to our expectation, by meanes of a currant we fell with Abdelacure [see p. 58], eighte leagues distant for [from] Soccotora. For which prosperous passadge and all other gracious protections God make us ever thanckfull.

The ninth ditto, by five of the clocke in the morneinge we were some foure leagues shorte from Socotora, and in the afternoon come againste Tamara roade. In regard of the Kinges former

<sup>1</sup> Great Comoro (Angasija), the principal island of the group.

<sup>2</sup> Mohilla lies south-east of Great Comoro.

frendshipp with our natione, we saluted him with our greate ordnance out of each shipp; soe passinge alongst for Delishaw, for at this time of the yeare the westerlie windes makes Tamara Roade verie daingerous. In the eveninge, after manie sudden gustes and calmes, under the highe land we anckored in the roade, where we then founde rideinge a smale junck, as we supposed, of Guzaratt; to whome our Generall sent his pinnis to knowe of whence theie were; whoe, partlie for feare and thire owne salftie, maide aunswere theie were belonginge to the kinge of that iland, then laideinge dates to carie over for the Abitian [Abyssinian] coaste; but by thire habitt we knewe them to be Indians, although unwillinge to urge them anie further, but rather incoradging them not anie waies to feare us, for we came but onlie to reffreshe and water.

The 10th in the morneinge, our Generall beinge to goe ashore to meet the Kinge (he beinge come of purpose to geve us intertainment, accordinge to his former costome), notice was geven to the cape marchantes for to come aborde; with whome it was considred what was moste fittingst for the Generall to present him with, whereby still to retaine his former [friendship?] and love towards our natione. Whereupon it was thought convenient that these particulers shoulde be maide redie and sent ashore before our comeinge, which neither exceeded what formerlie other of our comaunders had geven him (for makinge a bad president) nor lessned, leaste we geve him cause of dislike.

The particulers of the presente geven the Kinge of Soccotora by Captaine Nicholas Downtone, Generall, as follow[e]the:—

Tow damasked fouleinge peces; tow veste[s] of broade clothe; tow Turkie sworde blaides; eighte knives, in one cace; one lookinge glass; with divers instreuments and 40 li. [lb.] corne poother<sup>1</sup>.

Theise beinge delivred was kindlie accepted, and in some part requited with such provissions as his ilande aforded. After some conference he deliverd our Generall divers letters left with him

<sup>1</sup> Gunpowder which had been 'corned' (i.e. granulated).

by our Englishe<sup>1</sup>, but the latest was from Captaine Saris, commander of the Eighte Voyage, bearinge date September anno 1612, left thire at his retorne from the Redd Sea, importinge breffie of his intertainment thire; which, as it shoulde seme, was not soe frendlie as he expected, the Kinge not performeing his promise with him in the price of his alloes. Which letter, with some other resons, it was thoughte fitt to intreate of him, least afterwarde, comeinge to the vewe of some which neither were well wishers to us nor our proceedinges, mighte for thire particuler good revele the same unto him. The Generall, haveinge accompaned him thre or foure hours, desired to departe; which the Kinge perceveinge, mentioned his alloes unto him, but the Generall, makeing showe of noe grete desire unto it, reffered him unto me, with whome after thire departure aborde I had some conferenc[e]. Whereby I understood of the quantitie, quallitie and price, which was unresonable; and thirefore, showinge noe great desire to the comoditie, left him the better to consider with himselfe againste our next comeinge ashore; offeringe onlie 20 r[ial]s the kintall, which he lightlie esteemed off.

The 11th, beinge Sondaie, we ceased from all bussines untill the next morneinge. Whereupon the Kinge, understandinge it to be our Sabbothe, sent to our Generall a presente of rice and other such like provissions; in requitall of which he sente him by his messinger some peces of stuffe, with other toyes of his owne. And the next daie [we] went to trie what we coulde doe for procureinge his alloes.

At our comeinge againe to the Kinge, and haveinge excused our absence the daie before, after some other conference he againe demaunded if we intended to have the alloes or noe, perswadinge us he had not reserved it so much to make extraordinarie profit by us, for that he could sell it for more to the Indians, but chefflie kepte it as a means to have us resorte

<sup>1</sup> According to a marginal note, the King handed over two letters, one from Saris and the other from Sir Henry Middleton. In his journal (*Purchas*, vol. 1, p. 339), Saris says that on his arrival in Feb. 1612 he received from the King a letter left by Middleton in Sept. 1611, detailing his experiences in the Red Sea. Saris kept the original, but gave the King a copy, for delivery to any English ship that might arrive later. Evidently it was this copy which was now produced.

thither, wherby to houlde and contynewe his former acquaintance with the Englishe. But haveinge used our best means for depressing the price and little prevailinge, [we] were constrained to geve as Captaine Saris had formerlie<sup>1</sup>. Tares for the bladers<sup>2</sup> we demaunded, but he by noe meanes woulde consent, alledginge it never was his costome, which no[w]e to breake he woulde by noe meanes.

After agremente for the aloes and it sent for to be redie earlie in the morneinge (for that we desired to be gone with all speede from thence), the Kinge earnestlie intreted to heare some of our musicke; which he semed much to delighe in, requestinge dailie our companye dureinge our staie thire; he to the outwarde showe geveinge us all contente we in resone woulde desire, geveinge order for the pursers to make choise amongst the herdes for the price agreed off. Orringes we had resonable store; for which he woulde receve noe monie, alledginge theie grewe on the iland without chardges to him and thirefore frelie bestowed them.

In further conference he acquainted us with the fighte betwixte Captaine Beste and the Portingalls, but the event he coulde not resolve us off; as allsoe of an English shipp sene the yeare before on the Arabb coaste, which we judged to be the *Expedition*<sup>3</sup>, but loth to inquire further, doubtinge the worste of hir shorte retorne.

The nexte morneinge we went againe for dispatch of the aloes; where, accordinge to his promise, we founde most parte [of] it redie, and the reste broughte shortlie after. Some parte thireof beinge greene, he gave us leve to make our choice and reffuse what we liked not off; he alledginge the cause onlic to be in the heate of the wether.

Whilste the aloes was in waighinge, he desired to discourse with us concerninge our religione and of our Saviour, whome he confessed to have bene a grete prophett, borne in Jurye and that He was delivered from the tirannye of Herode, beinge caried into Egipt. Allsoe he acknowledged that He cured the lame, healde the sick, and restored the blinde to thire former sighte,

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> The bladders (called skins on p. 61) in which the aloes were packed.

<sup>3</sup> This surmise was correct. The *Expedition* on her outward voyage sailed along part of the Arabian coast, from the Kuria Muria Islands to Ras el-Had, in Aug.-Sept. 1613 (see Peyton's journal in *Purchas*, vol. 1, p. 488).

with manie other myracles, but in noe wise woulde grante that He was or coulde be the Sonne of God; either that the Jewes had put Him to death, but was delivered from them and another geven them by the rulers. Yet to perswaide him with the best resons we coulde, [we] tould him of the dispersion of the Jewes and curse upon thire lande ever since, beinge as theie requested at His death, that His bloode mighte be upon them and thire children; which accordinglie hath bene fullfilled, themselves not longe after captives to the Babilonyans and since continewinge in slaverye to most nations, and thire lande, which before was one of the fertilest countries in the world, haith ever since laien waste and barren. At which aunswere he ceased further to questione of that pointe, beginninge other discourse of our Kinge and countrie, greatlie desireinge to knowe the treuth, haveinge formerlie bene wrongfullie incensed of us, as himselfe allredie perceved. Wherefore, the better to resolve him, we sent for Speedes Cronicle<sup>1</sup>, which presented to his vewe all the cheeffe citties, townes, sheres and counties within our Kinges domynions, allsoe the fortes and castells upon the sea coastes; of which he semed glad to be resolved.

Haveinge finished our bussines, the Generall at his request gave him t[w]o severall notes under his hand, thirein intreatinge such Englishe comaunders as by casualltie at sea shoulde meet with anie of his or his fathers shippinge, to use them kindlie for his sake. After these notes deliverd the Generall offred to take his leve; but by noe meanes he woulde parte untill we were imbarcked and then with showes of love and loth to part left us.

This iland lyeth in the latitude of 12 degrees 35 min[u]tes; where we ridd the variation 4 d[egrees] 30 [minutes]; the depth where wee anckored 9 fathome, sandie grounde mixte with corall; the wester point of the lande beringe as we ridd west north west half notherlie and the easter easte and by northe. This evninge at our cominge aboarde the Generall gave order the next morneinge to departe.

<sup>1</sup> This was evidently John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, published in 1611. A second part, containing his *History of Great Britaine*, was published in the same year, the paging of the two works being continuous. The copy referred to in the text may have included both parts; hence its description as Speed's *Chronicle*.

The 14th of September, earlie in the morneinge, we departed Socotora, and were the nexte eveninge fourtene leagues off; from whence we plied it with all convenient speede to ataine our porte of Suratt before an ende of the monson.

The 26, beinge Sondaie, we had sighte of a saile standinge alongest the same course with us, which, as we might conjecture by hir sales and hull, semed to be an Indian juncke bounde for the coaste. Wherefore, in regarde of our nessesitie of advice, it was thoughte fitting that with the pinnis I shoulde goe unto them and, as occasione offred, either to speke with them or retorne, if anie aperance of dainger were. Haveinge sett hir by the compasse we departed and rowed to windwarde three or foure hours, which at lenth theie perceveinge, bore up to have got from us; but the winde decresinge we fetched [i.e. gained] upon them, and descerninge them to be Indians wente aborde, for that thire junck, habitt, and language maide them what theie were.

Goeinge aborde and seeinge them verie tymerous and fearfull of us, [we] toulde them what we were and the occasione of my comeinge, onlie to understand the state of our English at Suratt. To which theie replied that at present there were uncertaine off, but at thire comeinge from thence, beinge seaven moneths since, theie lefted them all in perfect health, and of the Governor kindlie intertained, beinge licenced from the Kinge frelie to traide in anie parte of his dominions. Likewise, at thire comeinge from thence the Mogore had warres with the Portingalls, which partlie was for intertaininge us but chcefflie grew by meanes of the Portingalls takinge the *Rehemye*, the greatest shipp belonginge to Suratt and then worth in redie monie two hundred thousand poundes, haveinge then bene in the Red Sea. In revenge whereof the Mogore had caused Damon to be beseidged, and debarred them of all traide, never purposinge to admitt them more traffique within his kingdome.

After this conference, demaundinge from whence theie nowe were come, [they] toulde me from Moha [Mokha], and by the waye of Cushan [Kishin], wher theie had taken in moste of thire laidinge; withall deliveringe me a note which Captaine Saris had geven the Kinge of Socotora, intreatinge anie such English as



by casualltie should meete with anie of his shipinge to use them frendlie for his cause. But I perswaded them not to doubt us, for that we never soughte to wronge anie excepte such as had injured us firste, and then to righte ourselves was all we desired; but beinge late and our shippes furr distant, I departed and returned aborde. Theie percevcinge our intentes not anie waies to offer them injurie, intreated me earnestlie to speke unto our Generall to pleasure them so much as [to] accepte of thire companie to Suratt, doubtinge leaste at thire comeinge to be intercepted by the Portingalls. Likewise, if he could convenientlie spare them a tonne of water (for that by meanes of a tedious passage from Cushan theie were driven to some wante), he mighte greatlie pleasure them and injoyne them at thire arrivall to acknowledge his kindnes and to thire abillitie to make him some parte of requitall.

With this, and the reste what I had understoode, at my comeinge aborde I acquainted the Generall with; of which he was glad to here, hopeinge that through thire diffrence with the Portingalls we shoulde have more kinder intertainmente and freer access in all our bussines.

The nexte morneinge the Generall wished me againe to goe aborde them and knowe whether of nessescitie theie desired our companie or noe; which if theie did not, he much desired to be pliiinge forward. This he cheeflie did as a meanes to cause them more kindlier to accepte of his proffer; and withall sent them out of each shipp two hogsheads of water, which theie emptied into thire jarrs, acceptinge thireof as an extreordinarie favor. But perceveing by my speche (as theie thoughte) a desire in our Generall to leve them, [they] earnestlie intreated not to forsake them; which requeste afterwarde beinge granted, theie promised never to be unmyndfull of theise cortesies but redie allwaies to doe us service.

The 30th ditto, after some trouble in towinge them, we fell with the soundinges on the coaste of India; and the second of October had sighte of the maine in 17.40 latitude. From whence with contrarie windes we were forced to turne it up to Suratt with helpe of the tides. Some 8 leagues to the southwarde of Chaule came a smale canowe aborde, with five Decanes in hir,

from the Governor of a forte called Jingere Rashpore [see p. 4 n.], to request us with our shippinge for two daies to anckor in his ha[r]bor, desireinge to have acquaintance with us, and especiallie at present, for that there, haveinge warrs with the Portingalls, stood in greate wante of some munitione, of which theie were perswaded [we] coulede furnishe them. Withall deliverin[g] a screete<sup>1</sup> from the Captaine, importinge that, by directions from Mallacamber [Malik Ambar], Generall of the forces of the Decans, he was to intrete all such Englishe passage alongst the coaste to anckor in some of thire harbors, he desireinge mutch some traide and comerce with us, and especiallie some of our munitione, in regard of thire difference with the Portingalls; wherein if we woulde pleasure them, we shoulde be assured of anie kindnes we woulde desire. Whereunto the Generall maide answere that by order from our imployers in England he was injoynd not to touch at anie port upon that coaste before his arivall at Suratt, and to digresse from his desingnes he durst not. Yet for to plesure that worthie Governor, at his retorne, if time permitted them, he purposed to see him; and to this effect writt two letters, one to the Governor Mallacamber and thother to the Captaine of the Fort<sup>2</sup>, to satisfie thire demands; and, in requitall of a smale presente of fruite, sent the Captaine two sworde blaides and a pare of knives; likewise to each of them [he gave] one knife a pece, wherewith they thought themselves well requited.

The 8 ditto in the morneinge, beinge thwarte of Chaule, came twoe Portingall frigates aborde from thire Governor, as theie toulde us to inquire some newes of thire shippinge and state of thire countrie, ofreinge in a complementall mannor what reffreshinge thire towne aforded. We in respectles mannor toulde them that for victualls we had noe need, but profered them wine, breade, beare, and other victualls; which at the shipps side theie willinglie accepted, but by noe meanes woulde come aboarde, althoughe we mutch desired it, thireby the better to resolve them of our forces, which we thought the principall cause of thir comeinge. Sure at what theie had sene theie coulede not gretlie rejoyce, our men at that instant all mustringe in healthe and the shipps fitted in everie respect for present fighte. And for thire

<sup>1</sup> Letter (Ital. *scritto*).

<sup>2</sup> See note on p. 4.

better incorradgment [we] toulde them of an alfabetically<sup>1</sup> fleet of Holland shippes, comeinge, as we thoughte, for that coaste to scoure thire fortes and harbors. As for thire shippinge we neither see nor hearde of anie. With this aunswere theie semed mutch dismaide, acquaintinge us that at present theie were at warrs with the Moores (doggs as theie termed them): that we were come in a fortunate time, all comodities beinge verie chepe, and we the natione that the Indians moste desired to have traffique with. To thire reportes we gave noe great regarde, onlie was glade to here that confirme by them which formerlie we were informed of by others. Afterwards, geveinge them a vallew<sup>2</sup> of smale shott, [they] hoysed sale and departed.

The 12, late in the eveninge, we anckored three leagues shorte of the Bar of Suratt; and the nexte morneinge waighed earlie to goe for Suallie, but by the waie founde sixtene Portingall frigetes rideinge at the Barr, thire waightinge an oportunitie for some purchase<sup>3</sup>. These at our comeinge (to bere upp for the roade) waighed and set saile with all haste to the westward, leveinge the broade waie for us. This nighte, by resone of the tydes, we anckored to the sowthward of Suallie road.

The 15th, in the morneinge, we came againste the roade, thire staiinge without the sandes untill we had herde further howe the state of our bussines stooode. Two houres after, a waifte<sup>4</sup> beinge made ashore, the pinnis was sent, and retorneinge broughte aborde one of the Governors men of Suratt, beinge sent onlie to knowe of whenc[e] we were; and understandinge us to be English, semed verie joyfull, partlie for thire owne securitie, in regard of thire difference with the Portingalls. At the retorne of this messinger, one of the marchants was sent with letters to Master Aldworth, whome we understood to be in Surratt with others of our English; wherein the Generall intreted him with the rest to come aborde, to be resolved of his intertainment and procedinges thire.

The 16, in the morneinge, Master Aldworthe came aborde, as

<sup>1</sup> I can find no explanation of this term, but suppose it means that a detailed list of the imaginary fleet was given.

<sup>2</sup> An old form of 'volley.'

<sup>3</sup> Prize-taking.

<sup>4</sup> Waft (signal).

glade of our arivall as we of his saltie; beinge accompan[i]ed onlie with one Richarde Steele, an Englishman, whoe by the waie of Persia, prosecutinge a bad debtor, was traveled into those partes; thire (at the request of Master Aldworth for his experience in the Persian traide) staieinge untill the arivall of shippinge. Master Aldworthe at his comeinge was verie weak and sicklie, the cause chefflie through discontent receved from such as should have bene a comforte to him, and doubte of our comeinge that yere, for which his creditt was ingaged unto the Governor and principall rulers, whoe but by his perswasions woulde have againe receved the Portingalls. This daie being our Sabbath, we ceased from anie bussines, onlie rested and gave thancks unto the Lorde for our prosperous passage and salfe aryvall at our desired porte.

The nexte morneinge a counsell was called, as by directions in the Companies comissione, for the resolveinge and answeeringe of the six breefe inter[ro]gatorie articles in the said comissione expressed; which here are set downe, with Master Aldworths severall answeres to every of the perticulers.

*The first consu[l]tation, helde aborde the Guifte, admirall, consistinge of such whose names are underwritten, for the answeeringe of the six inter[ro]gatory articles mentioned in the Companies comissione<sup>1</sup>.*

1. Howe Paule Caninge haith carryed himselfe [and the business] at the courte at Agra which was comitted to him; in what favor he is with the Kinge and Counsell; and whether he remaine at Suratt or Agra still.

That Paule Caninge departed Suratt in Jann<sup>r</sup> 1612 [1613], and was at his firste comeinge to the courte well respected by the Emperor, untill such time as the Jesuites maide knowen he was a marchante and not sent ymediatlie from our Kinge; but afterwarde neglected, as himselfe complained. And for his caridge, Master Aldworthe saieth for anie thinge he knoweth it was sufficient and well.

*Answered  
to the  
firste.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 6. This and succeeding consultations are printed (from O.C. 168) in *Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 130.

2. Whether you thinck him as sufficient to reside thire, if neede be, as anie other nowe goeing in these shipps, or anie of our people at Suratt.

*Answered.* This article [is] aunswerd by the death of Paule Caninge.

3. Whether it be needfull to maintaine one allwaies as ledger [see p. 6] in Agra, both in respect of houldinge corespondencye with the Emperor and his nobles and preventinge such mischeves as maie be practized againste us or our goodes by anie that mallice our traide thire. Allsoe for the saile of such comodites theire as we bringe fourth of England, and buyeinge such other comodites as serve to be retourned for England or transported for anie other partes of India in our traide.

*Answered  
to the  
second  
[sic].*

It is thoughte fitt and nescesarie, and allsoe of the Kinge required, that one of our natione reside at the courte, and that he be a man of good respect for preventinge and rightinge of anie wronges that maie be offred, and maie stande in good steede for buyinge and sellinge of comodites thire.

4. Whether it will not be more nedfull for us, more to the honor of our nation and to bringe us into the love of those people and to thire better content, that we keepe our marte place of buyeinge and seling at Suratt, or in some other towne nere the seaside, that it maie be more convenient and salfe for us, and thither to invyte the people of that countrie and natione to traide with us, bothe for the saile of comodites we carrye thither as allsoe for bringinge downe to us such comodites as maie be fittinge for us to buye, either for our traide in those partes or in England, in respect of saveinge charges and avoydinge of adventures in bringing the comodites downe in that large and daingerous countrie.

*Answered  
to the  
fourthe.*

To houlde our mart in one place is not soe nesesarie, but to kepe two factories, the one at Suratt, the other at Agra; and for all sortes of comodites, as indicoe &c., which we shall have occasione to buye, in time of the yere to repaire for them to the places where theire are maide; estemeinge thire to be noe grete dainger in the transportation thireof through the countrie. And for inviteinge the people with thire goodes to repaire downe to Suratt, not haveinge bene formerlie soe accostomed, he cannot advize whether ever to be efect[e]d.

5. Whether we maie procure indicoes and callicoes of all sortes and other comodites to be broughte us to Suratt or anie other convenient place upon the water as good chepe (within little more or lesse, the charge and adventure considered) at the handes of the cuntrye people as we ourselves maie buye in Byana<sup>1</sup>, Agra or other places where theie are maid, and maie finde saile for our comodites at Suratt, without transportation of them higher up to other places of that cuntrye; whereby we maie resolve the rather to kepe our place of residence at Suratt, as is above mentioned.

For transportation of our goodes by water wilbe verie dangerous, by resone of the recourse the Portingall frigets haith into the rivers, thirefore the lande wilbe more secur, as haith bene formerlie acostomed.

*Answers  
to the  
fifte.*

6. What charges Paule Caninge haith bene at for himselfe and his two men allowed him, and howe farr such expences maie be abridgd, if thire shoulde be a nescessitie in keepinge one thire.

Paule Caninges expences as yet uncertaine off, but to maintaine one thire cannott expende lesse then three hundred poundes the yere.

*Answers  
to the  
sixte.*

NICHOLAS DOWNTONE, *Generall*, WILLIAM EDWARDES,  
NICHOLAS ENSWORTHE, THOMAS ELKINTONE, ED-  
WARDE DODSWORTH, THOMAS MITFORD.

Haveinge understoode of Master Aldworthe fullie of the state of our bussines at Suratt, the Generall thoughte fittinge to acquainte him howe and in what mannor it had plesed the Companie to dispose of him in thire comissione; which was that Master Edwardes was thire apointed to remaine as principall, and Master Aldworthe as his seconnd. Which he understandinge, absolutlie refused to staie on those conditions, aledginge his agremente with the Companie was that wheresoever a factorie was lefte by them in thire voyadge, thire he was to remane as cheffe agent, and that, had it not bene chefflie through his menes in oposinge Captain Beste, the traide had not bene settled theire at that present; whoe would not be perswaided

<sup>1</sup> Biāna, 50 miles south-west of Agra, was an important centre of indigo cultivation.

that if Sir Henrie Midletone coulde not prevale in obtaininge traide thire, it was not for them to expect anie, and thirefore not fittinge to delaie ther time; comaundinge him, beinge then ashore, to repaire aborde. Which openione he oposinge for the good of our imployers, was the onlie cause of difference betwixt him and thire Generall. And that since, with mutch dainger of his life, he in saltie had kepte that smale stocke thire left; and nowe haveinge brought bussines thire to some resonable effect, after soe manie difficulties, thought himselfe unkindlie requited, for haveinge bene principall and nowe to be as seconnd woulde be mutch disgrace unto him and cause a jelious [i.e. suspicious] conceite of him in the openione of those people. But in regarde Paule Caninge was deceased, and that of necessitie one must remaine at Agra to houlde corespondencie with the Emperour and his nobles, whome we conjectured woulde be William Edwardes, the Generall intreted him to have patience, for that it was most likeliest he shoulde remaine in his place as [he] formerlie had.

The 18th, none of the Governors nor others comeinge to interrupte us, we further advised concerninge our bussines as follows:

*The second consultation, helde aborde the Guift, admirall, in Suallye Rode, concerninge whome moste fittest to remaine at Agra, howe and upon what termes; which was agreed and concluded off by such whose names are here under written.*

This morneinge we proceeded further to advize concerninge the present bussines here to be effected. And firste, whereas we formerlie received advice from Master Aldworthe of the necessitie for one to reside at Agra, and he to be a man of good fashione and esteme, thirefore choise was maide of Master William Edwardes, as one most fittest and agreable to the Companies comissione, for soe waigtie a bussines.

Allsoe questione beinge maide whether it were fitt the saide Master Edwardes shoulde procede under the title and proffesione of a marchante, accordinge to the strictnes of the Companies comissione in that pointe, Master Aldworth[s] openione was that whosoever should goe to the Kinge under the title and proffesione of a marchante woulde not be respected, as by experience

in the intertainment of Paule Caninge, for that marchantes generallie are not respected by the Kinge.

Likwise we consulted concerninge our previlidges, wherein theie were too weake and nede[d] to be enlarged; where, out of divers formerlie granted to our natione, we selected fiftene articles to be obtained from the Mogore, which were delivered to Master Edwardes, and he to carrye them with him to Agra.

Then presente at this consultation.	{	NICHOLAS DOWNTONE, <i>Generall</i> , WILLIAM EDWARDES, THOMAS ALDWORTHE, NICHOLAS ENSWORTH, THOMAS ELKINTONE, EDWARDE DODSWORTHE, <i>and</i> THOMAS MITTFORDE.
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After this consultatione helde, in regarde we herde not from anie of the Governors or cheffe of Suratt, nether received anie incoradgmente nor so much as anie reffreshinge for our men, doubtinge yt was thire jelious conceite of us, the Generall thoughte fitting to send with Master Aldworth three or foure marchantes to Suratt; wherby theie mighte perceve our intentes to be honest, comeinge for no other ende but peaceble to traide, if we could have permissione, and Master Aldworth to knowe if it were the Nababs plesure to debarr us of reffreshinge. But theie beinge delaide and sendinge noe answere, the Generall thoughte fittinge to sende me with a letter to the Nabab, ympor-tinge of this unfrendlie intertainmente, contrarie to thire Kinges firma granted, in abridginge us of refreshmente for our people, forbidinge the shroffes<sup>1</sup> to chainge our monies into that species, and deniinge him all other comon cortesies fittinge for straingers; that he had divers presentes from our Kinge to the Mogore, which, if he had not better incoragment then formerlie, he shoulde be forced to lande in some other place of more conveniencye.

This nighte, being late before I wente from aboarde, doubtinge at our comeinge to Suratt not to get into the cittie, [I] was forced to lodge in a poore gonge [see p. 14] with homelie intertainmente. And the next morneinge landinge at the alfondica<sup>2</sup>, I was met by Cojanozan, Governor of Suratt, and from thence accompanied with him to the Nababb, whoe at my comeing courteouslie

<sup>1</sup> Money-changers (Arabic *sharrāf*).

<sup>2</sup> Custom-house (Port. *alfandega*).



intertained me. After some conference, purposinge to make knowne the cause of my comeinge by Nicholas Ufflett, whome the Generall sent with me for that purpose; but the Nababb haveinge formerlie tooke notice of him, by meanes of a debte owinge to Captaine Hauckins, which Nicholas prosecutinge, caused such a hatred of the Nababb towards him that by noe meanes he woulde heare me but by another; which I refuseinge, thinckinge he would deliver it more frelie then the broker, the Nababb in discontent presentlie departed, apointinge Cojanozan with others to receve my letter; which theie demaunding, I answered that from our Generall I was sent to the Nabab and to noe other yt shoulde be delivered; intreatinge them to acquainte him thirewith, and that by directions from our Generall I was to retorne the next morning, and that, if it plesed them to consider of it, I woulde in the afternoone onc[e] more come; at which time, if it were not the Nababs plesure to grant me hereinge and answere, of force I must retorne without.

After dinner, by meanes of Cojanozan I came to the speche of him, whoe, after the letter beinge redd and understandinge the contentes of the Generalls grevance (in regarde of his unkinde intertainment and abridgment from all reffreshment), semed thirewith mutch displeased, as contrarie to his knowledge; promisinge reformation, and that the Governor in the morneinge shoulde retorne with me to agree with our Generall, of what in resone [we] coulde desire, which he afterwardes woulde confirme. Yett doubtinge the Governors delaies after my departure, [I] maide boulde to staie untill I see moste of his provissions over the water; and then with [Master] Aldworth went before to acquainte the Generall with his comeinge, wherby he might the better be provided.

The next morninge, the Governor beinge come to the water-side, the Generall, accompanied with the marchantes and masters, went unto him; where, after the renewinge of thire former acquaintance, the Generall demaunded whether theie were willinge, accordinge to thire Kinges grante, to permit us traide, and wherefore soe uncorteuslie theie debarred the people from bringinge him reffreshing for his men. But the Governor by noe meanes woulde take notice that anie of these discourtesies either

proceeded from the Nabab or himselfe; yet, howsoever formerlie it had hapned, nowe we should see a reformation, promisinge as from the Nabab all libertie, fredome and content we should desire; geveinge at that present his screete for the people to provide and bringe downe cattell or anie other provissions we had neede of.

The Generall, after some content receved in these pettie causes, in hope of reformation proceeded further to demaunde for the enlarginge of our previlidges and securitie in our traide. Whereunto the Governor made aunswere that for those bussines theie consernd not him but were comitted to the Nabab from the Mogore; of whome we neded [not?] to doubt but what with resone we desired woulde be granted.

These discourses ended, the Generall presented him with these particulers to be deliverd to the Nabab (he soe desireinge it at our coming from him); and likewise to the Governor himselfe, as follow:

*The particulers of the present sent from our Generall to Mocrob Chaune by Cojanozan, Governor of Suratt.*

Two paire of knives in single sheathes; one cace more contain[in]ge six knives, with ibonie haftes; six sworde blaides, three straighte and thre crooked; six Spanishe pickes; one guilte combe cace with divers instrewwmentes; one large lookinge [glass] in an ibonie frame; two large Muscovia hides; one ritch cace of lether guilte, with stronge waters; two pictures in frames, one of Mars, the other of Venus.

*Given the same tyme by our Generall to Cojanozan for himself these particulers.*

Six knives in severall sheathes; one looking glass, with severall instrewwmentes; foure sworde blades, wherof two straight, thother crooked; two Spanishe pickes; one ibonie looking glasse; one picture of Moyes; and a cace of hott waters.

All which he kindlie receved and intreated that some of us might accompanie him to the Nabab to acquainte him with the use of some of those toyes. Whereupon the Generall apointed Master Aldworth, Master Ensworth and myselfe to goe with the

Governor and to capitulate with the Nabab conserninge our previlidges at Baroche and other places. But beinge late that nighte before our comeinge to Suratt, we forbore to goe untill the nexte morneinge; at which time he being sett forth, we went to treat of the premises, for that to paie 3½ per cent at Suratt and 1½ at Baroche was contrarye to thire Kinges firma granted.

Whereunto, after manie delaies and we still persistinge as desirous of answeare, he demaunded of us that, if in case the Portingalls should come againste them in the time of our shippinge beinge at Suallie, whether we woulde asiste them or noe. Whereunto we answered that to offend the Portingalls, excepte theie injured us, were a breach of the leage betwixte our princes and contrarie to our authoritie from our Kinge, which to excede were the dainger of our lives. He thireupon discontentedlie departed, tellinge us that for our sakes theie had thrust fourth the Portingalls, and that, if nowe in thire nede we woulde not asiste them, we shoud expecte noe kindnes from them. At which aunswere we departed, thinckinge presentlie to have gone aborde; but order was geven that we shoulde have noe passage over the river, yet in such mannor as if the Nabab had noe knowledge thireof. Wherefore, to be certaine whether it was by his directions or noe, sent two of [our?] men with Thomas Mittford and William Bedolfe over the bridge with a letter to our Generall, and theie to bringe worde whether anie staie were maide of the messingers or noe. But beinge upon the bridge and offringe to proceede, [they] were stopped by the watche, bounde, beaten, and at nighte sent home with these disgraces. Which was a greefe unto us, but howe at present to right ourselves we knewe not, beinge forced to have patience for three daies; in which time by noe meanes we coulde be admitted to the Nabab[s] presence, neither libertie to departe nor anie permitted to convey us a letter to our Generall, but by unknowne meanes<sup>1</sup> to the Governor.

The 29th ditto the Nabab sente the Sabander with one of his cheffe Banyans to acquainte us, as his full resolution, that excepte we woulde asist them againste the Portingalls if theie should assault them (duering our aboade at Sualli with our shippes) we

<sup>1</sup> These two words should be transposed.

should looke for noe traide or anie kindnes from them, onlie libertie to departe. On the contrarie, if we woulde asist them, noe cortesie or freedome theie woulde denie us. In us<sup>1</sup>, we toulde them, to resolve this pointe we coulde not, but in geveinge us leve to retorne to our Generall, whereby to acquainte him, he shortlie woulde resolve them.

Prepairinge to goe aborde, theie demaunded howe manie shoulde remaine ashoare untill our retorne. We, to prevent a jelious conceite, toulde them foure or five; which gave them good content for the present. This nighte retorneinge aborde, we acquaint[e]d the Generall what accidentes had happined, the injuries and disgraces some of our English had receved; allsoe certefinge him of the Nababbs intentes seekinge by force too asiste them. He thireupon determined to consider thireof with advice the next morneinge, and to answere him acordinglie.

Beinge desirous to knowe the drifte of thire delaies, a councill was called for the aunsweringe thire demaundes, beinge a matter of such importance conserninge either the breach of the Kinges comissione or looseinge our traide; the one to vyolate, greatlie indangeringe our lives; the other mutch prejudicall, not onlie for the future good of our countrie and imployers, but allsoe to our presente voyage. After the marchaunts and maisters were come, the Kinges comissione was broughte fourth and redd, wherby we might the better be resolved howe furr in cace of nescessitie we might dispence in that pointe conserninge our resistance or offence of the Portingalls. But findinge ourselves limited not to molest them except theie firste offred injurie to us, it was concluded this aunswere followinge to be sent from our Generall:

*The coppye of an answere sent to the Nabab  
October the 29th    conser[n]inge our resolutions howe furr to pro-  
anno 1614.        ceede in resistance of the Portingalls. Sent  
from our Generall to satisfye his demaundes.*

By reasone of your Kinges firma geven for our nationes peaceable and quiett traide within His Highnes dominions, gave me incoradgment to come hither with this greate chardge; and here in

<sup>1</sup> Meaning 'of ourselves'?

the longe time of my presente aboade I finde not that favoure which by the articles of peace concluded I expected. And since you denie the same unlesse I yelde to that inconvenienc which my Kinges comissione tyes me to the contrarie (not knowinge the state of your presente affaires), nor will not permitt me peaceable and quiett traide, accordinge to our former articles, and that my marchantes cannott without interuptione or staie travell aboute thire affaires, then I praie you lett them repaire aboarde with thire goodes, that I maie departe to some other place where I maie with salftie conveie my Kinges letter and presentes to the Emperour your maister, from whome I hope to finde more honorable proceedinges. Thus, expectinge your aunswere with the firste, for that I cannot here longer staie on your delaies, I comende you to God.

Your loveinge frende,

NICHOLAS DOWNTONE

The 30th ditto Master Aldworth and Master Elkintone went with this letter to the Nabab; the contentes whereof he understandinge, instantlie in greate discontent risse [*sic*] and departed, apointinge the Sabander to geve them this answere, agreable to his former resolution, that excepte we woulde asist them againste the Portingalls dureinge our staie at Sually we shoulde departe thire countrie presentlie with our men and goodes. With which answere we rested satisfied, and the next morneinge begune to send such marchandize as [was] then in the house over the water, and allsoe begane to make saile of the housholde stuffe; which the Nabab perceveinge sent for Master Aldworth, demaundinge if he porposed to departe. Whose aunswere was, if we mighte not be permitted traide but upon such prejudicall termes, of force we muste. The Nabab seinge us make it a cace soe indifferent, whether to staie or goe, and if wee shoulde departe the Portingalls were more likely then to tyranize over them then formerlie, toulde him that for to traide or our factory to abide in the countrie he woulde not denye us, wishinge him soe to acquainte our Generall; yet withall challenginge unkindnes of us, for that he never expected but we woulde have ayded them againste the Portingalls, in regarde of thire intertaineinge us and

rejectinge them, and thirefore coule not rest soe well conceited of us as formerlie theie were.

With which aunswere Master Aldworth and Master Elkindone retornd to the Generall, acquaintinge him with the Nababs speches and his demaunds. Whereupon order was geven for the cape marchantes and such other as were apointed for counsell to repaire the next morneinge aboarde, the better to consider of this bussines. We [were] unwilling to forgoe that traide except upon too prejudicall termes, and thirefore were glade of this occasione offred.

November the 3  
anno 1614. *The third consultation, helde aborde the Guifte,  
admirall, in Suallie Roade, consisting of such  
as are hereunder written, conser[n]inge the  
settlinge our factorye thire or noe.*

Perceveinge that we had bene delaied from time to time by Mocrob Chaune, to effect some private endes of his owne, untill the second of November, but in conchlussione findinge he durste not denie his Kings firma granted, although we received noe great incoragment from him, yet it was thoughte rather fittinge to land our goodes then to forgoe a traide soe well accepted and thought of by the Companie in England, for that we mighte perceve these discourtisies ofred us by him proceeded rather through his weaknes then otherwise, we not yeldinge to his unresonable demaundes. Allsoe it was demaunded of the Generall howe longe he might staie for the dispedinge awaie one shipp for England, in regarde of the bussines to be effected within the time lymited. Whose answer was that he thought it not convenient to staie longer then the fine [i.e. end] of January; doubtinge otherwise of a reasonable time for the shipp and men to retorne.

At this present likewise it was thoughte requisite to apoint what factors to reside at Agra and Suratt; as allsoe, for the more dispede in laideinge of a shipp, to disperce some of the factors bound for Bantam and other partes to Baroche, Cambaya and other townes of traide, thire to procure such comodites as those places [yielded] fittinge for our use.

*Factors apointed to reside at Agra with Master Edwards, for the buyinge of Byana indeco, semians<sup>1</sup> and other como[dities]; as allsoe to remaine with Master Aldworthe at Suratt, to be ymployed for severall places as occasions ofred<sup>2</sup>:*

For Agra	{ William Edwardes, Thomas Kerridge, Thomas Mitforde, John Browne, Robert Younge, Nicholas Ufflett, Nicholas Withington, Francis Fetiplace.
[For Surat and other places adjoining]	{ Thomas Aldworth, Nicholas Ensworth, Edward Dodsworthe, William Bedolfe, Tymothie Mallorye, Thomas Barker, Ballie Ball, Henric Ellmer, Richard Sadler, Richard Pitt, with other assistance.

*Factors disperced and apointed for thes severall places for efectinge of the laiding of one ship for England.*

Amadavas	{ Thomas Aldworth, Edward Dodsworth, Richarde Battie, Edmond Holmden, Henrye Ellmer.
To remain at Suratt in our absence	{ Nicholas Ensworth, Thomas Elkintone, Thomas Barker, William Bedolfe, Timothe Mallorye, Richard Sadler, John Tucker, Timothe Wood, Samuell Juxone, and William Vernone, &c.
For Baroche	{ John Oxwicke, Ballie Ball, Christopher Farwell, Esau But.
For Cambaya	Edmond Harnden, Humphry Elkinton, Richard Pitt.
For Brodera	Raphe Prestone, John Sanderof, John Crowther.

Then present at this consultation.	{ NICHOLAS DOWNTONE, <i>Generall</i> , WILLIAM EDWARDES, THOMAS ALDWORTHE, NICHOLAS ENSWORTH, THOMAS ELKINTONE, EDWARD DODSWORTH, THOMAS MITTFORDE.
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November the 4th anno 1614. *The third [fourth?] consultation houlden aborde the Guift, admiral, in Sually Roade, conserninge the quantites and sortes of comodites to be boughte for England and the southwarde.*

At this present proceedinge in counsell conserninge our former bussines, it was thought fittinge to send Master Steele to Mocrob

<sup>1</sup> Muslins procured from Samāna, in Patiala State.

<sup>2</sup> The distribution differs from that in *Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 134, and from the one given in the *Supplementary Calendar*, p. 45. Evidently the list was subsequently rearranged.

Chaune with some smale toyes he had desired, and in conference with him to feele his inclination towards us for our interta[i]nmente, and thireupon privatlie to send us worde, we accordinglie to procede in the landinge our goodes. Likwise it was agreed what sortes of callicoës, indicoës and other goodes, with thire quantites and prices, was thought fitt to be sente for England; which in regarde of the smalnes of the stocke yt was determined of these perticulers, although not the full proportion accordinge to the Companies order, yet through expectation of some good quantitie of indicoe and better hope of profit thireby, this quantity was agreed to be bought as followeth:

Indicoe, 1100 chorles <sup>1</sup> , price [blank]	11000 [L.]
4000 peecees baftaes, att 3[s.] per peece	600 [L.]
2000 peecees baftas, att 4s. per peece	400 [L.]
2000 peecees Semians, att 6s. per peece	600 [L.]
2000 peecees Semians, att 8s. per peece	800 [L.]
1000 peecees colored callico, att 18d. per peece	075 [L.]
1000 chints, att 2s. 6d.	125 <sup>h</sup> 00
250 peecees shashes <sup>2</sup> , at 5s. peece	62. 10
100 peecees shashs, att 8s. peece	40. 00
75 peecees ditto, att 10s. peece	37. 10
50 peecees ditto, att 15s. peece	37. 10
25 peecees ditto, att 20s. peece	25. 00

*Then present at this consultation aboard the admirall in Sually Roade:* NICHOLAS DOWNTON, *Generall*, WILLIAM EDWARDES, THOMAS ALDWORTHE, NICHOLAS ENSWORTHE, THOMAS ELKINTON, EDWARD DODSWORTH, THOMAS MITTFORD.

The next daye, not hearinge from Richard Steele, the Generall intreated Master Aldworthe to goe too Suratt for the providinge of caridges for our goodes, with other bussines, and Master Edwardes with the other marchantes to followe twoe daies after, if in the meane time we received noe discontent from the Nabab.

Master Aldworth noe sonener [*sic*] departed but Richard Steele

<sup>1</sup> The *churl* (bundle) was the unit by which indigo was sold. The greater *churl* was a little over five maunds in weight; the smaller four maunds.

<sup>2</sup> Turban-cloths.



retorned, certefeinge the Generall of the greate desire the Nabab had of our comeinge, promising anie fu[r]ther assurance for our saltye we coulde desire, if we doubted of his promises; and withall sent three coaches and foure horses for Master Edwardes and his companie. But the cause of his earnest desire to land our goodes and to have us ashoare, afterwards we understood, was for that the Portingalls had geven them an overthroughe at Damon; which warrs the Nabab had undertaken to defend, and doubting much of himselfe for performance, if they should come with thire shippinge againste them, caused him by all meanes to use what policie he coulde to detaine us.

The 6th ditto, beinge Sondaye, we onlie agreed what most fittingst were to be landed first, which for that Master Edwards and we were to accompanie each other to Amadavar, and that for the more spedie procuringe of our laidinge we caryed onlie ryalls, thirefore with the monyes such goods as was thought most vendablest at Agra were apointed the next daie to be landed, purposinge to dispeed ourselves from Suratt towards Amadavas with all convenient haste.

The 8 ditto, after the landinge some parte of our goodes, we set forward towards Suratt; where comeinge late, instead of kind interta[i]nment, which we expected, [they] verie familiarlye searched all of us to the bottom of our pocketts, and nearer too (in modestie to speake yt), begininge with Master Edwardes (who theie knewe to be noe otherwise, but as a messinger from our King) and soe proceedinge with the rest; which at presente we were with patience forced to endure.

The 9th, some parte of our goodes comeinge to the Alfondica, we went to clere; but in vewing of our bedinge, peces, and other toys of which choyce was maide for the Nabab, we spent that daie and manie more, to our hindrance and greife<sup>1</sup>. The next daie

<sup>1</sup> Purchas's version, in which (as he admits) some details from Elkington's journal were incorporated, gives this passage as follows: 'In the Alfandica wee could find no reasonable ratements on the goods, nor leave to carry away anything till the Nabob had seene them and taken what he pleased (as hee had done in opening mens chests, neither mariner nor merchant escaping without trilles taken from them, no reason after given for it); searching to the very pillowes and pocketts, not sparing Master Edwards himselfe; customing the cases, bottels, apparell, or what we brought for necessary use, as if they sought by foule usage to weary us.'

with Master Edwardes we went to vissitt the Nabab and to intreate for our dispatch; whoe at our comeinge used us verie kindlie, investinge<sup>1</sup> Master Edwards and promisinge all furtherance for our dispatch.

The 12th ditto, I received a letter from the Generall, wherein he desired our openions of the Persian bussines, wherof we had conference aboarde and received good incoradgment from Master Aldworth and Richard Steele, as a place verie vendable for our English clothe and other comodites, as allsoe fittinge places for our shipinge to ride at, of which the pilates of Suratt informed us.

The next daie, haveinge acquainted Master Edwardes, with the rest of the marchants, of the Generalls desire and considered thureof, answerd the letter to this effect, that in regard of the comodiousnes of that traide for the vendinge of our English cloth and other comodites thire to be had, as by the experience of Richard Steele, whoe had mad[e] triall in his travells through those partes, and that the charge woulde not amounte to above twoe hundred poundes for Stele and two more, which we in our openions thought to be reasonable, makeinge noe doubte of the Companies allowance thiretoo in England. And thirefore, if it pleased him to apointe a marriner, we woulde provide a marchante to accompanie him thither, the one for discoverye of the portes and havens on that coaste, thother to retorne after allowance from the Sophie<sup>2</sup> for traide, with advice to us at Suratt, that soe we mighte the better determine at the comeinge of the nexte shippes for the prosecutinge of that bussines<sup>3</sup>. This was agreed and concluded of by

WILLIAM EDWARDES, THOMAS ALDWORTHE,	} <i>marchants</i>
NICHOLAS ENSWORTHE, THOMAS ELKINTONE,	
EDWARDE DODSWORTH, THOMAS MITTFORD,	
RAPHE PRESTONE <i>and</i> JOHN OXWICK.	

<sup>1</sup> Presenting with a dress of honour.

<sup>2</sup> The Persian monarch was usually designated thus in England. It is really the name of the dynasty (*Safi* or *Safawi*).

<sup>3</sup> For a copy of the reply sent, see *Factory Records, Miscell.*, vol. 25, p. 63.

After this consultation, in the afternone we wente to the Nabab to intreate for more quicker dispatch, for that throughe tediousnes of his costomers<sup>1</sup> we were mutch delaide, to our exceedinge greate hindrance; likewise that he woulde be plesed to accept of the costoms which we shoulde paie at Baroche, leaste thire againe our goodes shoulde be rifled and we thireby hindred. All which he promised, and likewise his screte [see p. 81] for our free passage withoute further hindrance or interuptione; and at our partinge gave Master Rodgers tenn poundes in mamodes, whereof a good parte went to his prowlinge officers for thire fees.

The 14 and 15 ditto, still beinge delayed by the costemers to rate and vewe our goodes, and perceaveinge thire willingnes to imbrace anie occasion of bussines to hinder ours, our pictures and other comodites lyinge in the sonne, which was greatlie prejudicall to them, we desired to knowe what thire intentes were to us. Whereupon some wordes of discontent passinge, we onlie desird the presentes, that our Kinges messinger might departe. But aunswere was maide in plane termes, neyther that the presentes shoulde be deliverd nor we suffred to depart. And we noe sooner gone from the Alfondica but presentlie all our musketts and other munitione were all caryed to the Nababs<sup>2</sup>.

These discontents still renewed drive us to an exigente, for that we noe waies coulde deserne the ends of thire desire. Yet at our comeinge home considerd with ourselves what meanes best to use whereby to be resolved. In the afternoone Master Ed-

<sup>1</sup> Custom-house officials.

<sup>2</sup> 'The fifteenth Magro Can himselfe came to the Alphandica and sealed up the Kings presents; which he was desirous to see, although he had promised that they should passe without opening. He desired to have all the pictures and combe cases; which we said were to go for Agra, that the King might have his choise. Whereupon (notwithstanding he was offered part of them) he fell into great choler, and objected Sir Henry Middleton his proceedings in the Red Sea, wishing Master Aldworth to write to the King [of England] for satisfaction; which was answered to have beene already ended by Captaine Best, as the articles manifest. He concluded yet with faire promises; but the effect was defect and delay, wee being not permitted to carry away the Kings presents. The pictures, by lying in the sunne, were broken and warped in vile manner; wee also in danger to lose the monson; and the Kings present, with muskets and fowling peeces taken from our men, were carried to his house, and nothing permitted us except he might first see the Kings present' (Purchas's version).

wardes with others went to the Nabab; whoe noe sooner sawe us but instantlie risse and departed, not willinge to be seene of us, leveinge onely twoe of his cheffe Moores to knowe the cause of our comeinge. Whoe, seinge us displeased throughe the Nababs unkind usage, begune to acquainte us with the cause, that we woulde not permitt him to see the presentes. Whereunto Master Edwardes maid aunswere that upon his life he durste not admitt anie to have sighte of them before the Emperor, to whom theie were sent from our Kinge.

The 18th ditto, perceaveinge thire little esteeme of us, in that it suted not with the Nababs greatnes to admitt us his presence, we sent our broker to knowe his pleasure, yf he woulde suffer us to retorne aboarde or howe he purposed to dispose of us, yt beinge much to our hindrance here to remane upon such uncertaintyes. The broker acquaintinge him, he sent us worde (by Hemgec<sup>1</sup>, a professed enemie to our English and sworne frend to the Portingals) that, if Master Edwardes would grante him sighte of the presentes, he willinglie woulde grant him his desire to departe; withall sendinge Master Aldworthe worde he should noe longer tarrie in thire countrie, for that through him he knewe all this unkindnes was procured towards him. A subtile pollicie to complaine first unto this undermininge messinger. Master Edwardes maide answer once more that with his concent he should not see them, desire[ing] withall to knowe his resolution whether he woulde suffer him to proseeede in his message or retorne aboarde. Whereupon the Banyan depart[e]d, haveinge understood what he coulde of our intent; but afterwards we neither coulde here from the Nabab nor anie of accounte.

Haveinge bene delaide to our exceedinge great charges and losse of time, not haveinge cleared or rated anie parte of our goodes at the Alfondica, and perceveinge thire intentes onlie to delaie us, whereby for thire owne securitie to detaine our shippes the longer, it was thought fitting to conclude whether it were better for us to stand upon such termes or noe, haveinge noe such order from the Companie in England, the bussines beinge of greate importance for the staie of our shippes and alsoe the oportunitie of time not permitting. In regarde whereof moste

<sup>1</sup> Possibly Hemū-ji (see p. 31).

consented, except Master Edwardes, to lett him see the presentes; yett withall haveinge respect to the reputation of the messinger [i.e. Edwards], whose promise was to the contrary, thirefore we semed to doe it contrarie to his mynde, desireing if possible we coulede [to] obtaine some end of thire delaies. For this as we imagined was thire laste drifte to hinder us.

The 22th ditto, the presentes beinge opened, worde was sent the Nabab, whoe instantlie came to veiwe them, in our sight, geveinge not mutch regard to anie but the y[m]brodred sweete bagge, the which he mutch comended. At his departure he tould us of the arivall of the Portingall shippes at Goa, which the Vize Roye with more assistance was preparinge againste us; but we advized him to be provided, rather conjectureinge it was againste them.

The 23th, we had some dispatch at the costome house, but withall constrained to suffer the Nabab to make choyce of what he plesed, and the price reffered till afterwarde, understandinge by Thomas Kerridge[s] letters that he [the Nawāb] had com-aundement from the Kinge to buye all such rarytes as we or anie other straingers shoulde bring unto his kingdome. This eveninge Master Ensworthe and Master Woode, twoe of our marchantes, departed this life, haveinge bene vissited of the flux; whome we have leve without interruption to burye after our Christian manor.

The 24th, in the morneinge came a firma from the Mogore, which the Nabab accordinge to the costome of those partes met it two myles without the cittie with 600 horse to showe his obedience. The effect of this firma we mutch desired to knowe, for that we conjectured it might conserne us, because at our first comeinge the Nabab sent the Kinge worde of our arivall. The next morneinge, beinge at the Alfondica for dispatch of our goodes, the Nabab sent for Master Edwards and most of our English then ashoare to come unto him and, contra to his former wonte, after manie frendlie speeches outwardlie presented Master Edwardes with these particulers: eighte hundred and fifty mamoudes, thirty peces of tapseele [see p. 13], tenn peces of fyne callicoes, thirtye peces of alizacs [see p. 13]. The monic [was] towards the chardges of carryinge the present upp, for that, he toulde us, it was not the Kinges pleasure anie strangers

should be at chardge to convey the presentes sent him within his dominyons. The stufes and callicoos likewise he gave for the furnishing of such as were to accompanie Master Edwardes upp to the court. He allsoe meanelie vested Master Aldworth and Master Elkintone, and gave to Master Elkinton and myselfe fyve peces of tapseels to each, and at that instant gave us his chapp<sup>1</sup> for our departure, with free passage of our goodes at Baroche, with all kinde promises for a previlidge within his government. All which in the sight of him that broughte the firma was done, as we conjectured, that he might reporte thireof to the Kinge howe bountifull he was unto us, not willinge to loose the leaste oportunitie. After our partinge from the Nabab we presentlie went to the Alfondica for the cleeringe of our goodes, which accordinge to our desire was deliverd without further delaie or trouble.

The 30th ditto, in the afternoone we set forward towards Amadavas; but coulde not procure our musketts, peces, and pistolls before such tyme as [we] were forthe of cyttie, at which tyme such as they tooke noe greate affectione too were deliver[c]d us. This nighte we wente foure coase to the ryver of Veraugh<sup>2</sup>, where we pitched by the waterside.

The firste [December, we] were for the moste parte passinge our goodes over the river, lodginge for that nighte at the townes ende. Here the Moccadom of Veraugh maide shewe to have staid our goodes untill he heerd from the Nabab; but upon sighte of the chapp, with a little intretye and a smale bribe, he lett us passe.

The second ditto, in the moreneinge we departed Vereaugh and went twelve coases to Cossam bay<sup>3</sup>, a smale aldeia<sup>4</sup>, and the next daie in the morn[ing] sett forwarde towards Encklizere<sup>5</sup>, eighte coases; where costome for our goodes was demaunded, beinge not under the gover[n]mente of Mocrob Chaune, yet for a bribe [they were] content to lett us passe.

This nighte we came to Baroche, where we had kinde intertainment, haveinge free passage for our goodes without the

<sup>1</sup> Licence (Hind. *chhap*, a seal-impression).

<sup>2</sup> The Tapti. Varião is on the south bank.

<sup>3</sup> Kosamba.

<sup>4</sup> *Aldea* (Port.), a village.

<sup>5</sup> Ankleswar, on the south bank of the Narbada, opposite Broach.

leaste hindrance, but rather all furtherance we could desire for our dispatch.

The fourth ditto, after the costom of those partes we went to vissitt the Governor, and at our comeinge presented him with one guilte comb cace, tow sworde blades, and tow paire of knives; which he accepted kindlie off, and promised at our departure a sufficient guard through the places of his gover[n]-mente salffie to conducte us, the countrie in those partes beinge verve daingerous for straingers; desireinge onlie Master Edwards kinde reporte of him to [the] Kinge, he haveinge receved some disgrac[e] by resone of the Portingals comeinge againste Baroche, himselfe by Mocrob Chaune imployed in the warrs againste Damon att that instante.

This nighte, after our retorne from the Governor, we considered for the disposeinge of the bussines thire; where yt was thought fitt that Master Oxwick shoulde remane for the providinge these severall sortes of callicoes, beinge the cheefest place in those partes for that comoditie, and the more convenient, beinge soe neare Suratt, in regard of the daingerous transportation in those partes.

*The proportion of goodes apointed to be provided at Baroche to send in the next shipp for England, and allsoe in the other shippes for Achene, Pryaman, and Bantam, &c.*

For England	{	2000 peces white baftaes, att 2s. 6d. per peece.
		2000 peces white baftaes, att 3s. per peece.
		2000 peces white baftas, att 4s. per peece.
		2000 peces lighte blewes, att 2s. 9d. [per] peece.
		2000 poundes in flatt and round indico.
For Bantam	{	100 poundes in cotton yarne of severall sortes.
		100 corge of baftaes neale <sup>1</sup> , att 55s. per corge.
		50 corge of byrams <sup>2</sup> neale, att 60s. per corge.
		200 corge of candikens <sup>3</sup> , att 30s. per corge.
		50 corge of candikeens, att 25s. per corge
		20 corge of trekenes <sup>3</sup> , att 20s. per corge.
	{	15 corge white baftaes, from 12 to 16s. per peece.

<sup>1</sup> Blue (nil).

<sup>2</sup> Bairam or bairami was the name of a specially fine kind of cloth.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 24.

Thes severall comodites we estemated woulde amounte to foure thousand poundes, of which monies he was to be suplied from Master Elkinton at Surratt; and for asistance to Master Oxwick in the choyce of indicoe and cotton yarne, Baly Ball and Esaue Butt were apointed.

The 5th, haveinge settled the bussines, we departed Baroche; at which tyme the Governor mett us at the townes end with 25 horsmen and as manie footmen, to garde us in salftye to the next place of gover[n]mente. This cyttie of Baroche is one of the pleasantes[t] situated and strongest fortified cytties in those partes, beinge builte uppon the topp of a hill walled round, with a castell and forte comaunding the river; the which, yf it be as the inhabitantes reporte, that shippes of thre hondred tonns maie come as highe as the towne, woulde make yt the convenienst place for our Englishe to reside at, in regard of the fitt landinge and shippinge fourth our goodes. Baroche afordes the before-mentioned comodites, with finer sortes of baftacs, duttyes<sup>1</sup>, and other such like cotton. The lenth of thire baftaes are to be 20½ covedaes<sup>2</sup>; whereof twentye peces makes a corge. Others theie have of 17½ covedaes, whereof 24 makes a corge. If theie wante of thire bredth or lenth, allowance is to [be] maide; which theie dare not denie.

This nighte after our departure from Baroche we lodged at the ende of a smale aldeia called Demilode<sup>3</sup>, where we rewarded the Baroche souldiers with fortye mamoudes, and some toye[s] which we gave to the captaine. From hence we were furnished with 50 horse and foote, which conducted us to Chormondo, 8 coase, beinge the most theveshest waie in those partes.

The 7th, in the morneinge, we departed Charmondo with 25 souldiers, all notorious theves (which afterwarde we founde). Theise conducted us to Danau 10 coase, where pitchinge in a plane accordeinge as formerlie we used, maide a baracado with our cartes, and the reste that were in companie, beinge jelious [i.e. suspicious] of that place. At supper time uppon the suden

<sup>1</sup> The coarse cloth from which *dhotis* (loin-cloths) were made.

<sup>2</sup> Port. *covado*, a cubit.

<sup>3</sup> I have not succeeded in tracing thus and the other two stopping places between Broach and Baroda.



came fiftie horsemen close upon us, and without question, had theie not founde us well provided, would have asaulted us, for that the charge we carryed was certainlie known throughe all the countrie as we traveled.

The 8th, we proseeded forward, beinge conducted to Brodera, which is 5 coase, with fiftie horsemen. Where at ten of the clock in the forenoone we came, and lodged in the Seraya [i.e. *sarāi*]. Here we purposed to have lefte Master Preston and John Sandcrofte; but not findinge the ymploymentes expected for them, theie proceeded with us to Amadavar.

The 9th ditto, Master Aldworth and myselfe wente to vissitt the Governor and to desire licence to departe, accordinge to thire costome; but he intreated us to staie untill the next morneinge, that he might provide a garde for us through the places of his gover[n]mente, which otherwise he coulde not answer to the Kinge. We presented him as from Master Edwardes with theise particulers:

Tow sworde blaydes, one combe cace with instrewnments, and three payre of knives.

Which presente he accepted kindlie, but requested a further kindnes to see our mastife dogge, which to them semed strainge; unto which we willinglie consented, and [were] glade such smale courtesie would procure us favor. This cyttie is well seated in a plane, semeinge to us a fertile soyle and resonable well watred, which is scante in moste of those partes. The comodites yt afordes is onlie callicoes and cotton yarne, yet not soe good in anie respect as those maide att Borocho, neither in thire lenth and bredthe soe large.

The 10th ditto, we departed Brodera towardes Amadavas, accompaned with a hundred horse and foote; which chardge unto us in gratifieinge the souldiers we coulde not refraine, for that voluntarie theie woulde see us conducted throughe thire severall places of gover[n]ment, being thireunto [e]njoy[n]ed, espetiallie when anie present is to be conveyed to the Kinge from anie forraine prince. This nighte we came to a smale aldeca 12 coase off, where we rested and the reste of the caffala<sup>1</sup> all nighte; but

<sup>1</sup> Arabic *qāfila*, a caravan.

forced to keepe strict watch, notice beinge geven us of ~~match~~ <sup>DERAP</sup> dainger in that place and twoe daies journey more.

The 11th, we parted from Arrass<sup>1</sup>, and came that nighte to Narreaw<sup>2</sup>; where the Brodera souldiers, seinge us suplied with twenty five horse, left us. This towne afordes good store of callicoes, and is inhabited for the moste parte with Banyans; by which meanes we fared the worse, for that they houlde yt religious to kill anie lyveinge creature. From Brodera to this place is twentie two coases. From hence we parted, the 12 in the morneinge, and traveled eleaven coase to a smal villag called Canees [Kanij]; where we rested that nighte in a seraya, and were the next daie furnished with tenn horsmen to conducte us to Amadavar.

The 13, partinge from Canees, we traveled seaven coase to Amadavaus; where at our comeinge noe conveniente house beinge to [be] hired, Sander Chaun<sup>3</sup>, Deputye Governor in the absence [of] his brother, apointed us the cheefe place in the greate seraya, places built for the intertainmente of straingers, beinge in those partes not acostomed to have ins as in Christendome. Theise serayes are moste parte verye spacious, builte in mannor foure square, free for anie straingers and thire camells to lodge in; as for such provisiõe of victualls as anye shall desire, cither for himselfe or camells, which the cittie or towne afordes, is dalie to be boughte in the bussarres [bazaars].

The 14 ditto, in the eveninge we wente to vissitt the Governor; whoe at our comeinge, accordinge to thire dalie use, was sett fourth in his place of justice; and for to acknowledge our thanckfullnes for his kinde intertainment, Master Edwardes presented him with

The presente geven Sarder Chaune.	{ Foure sworde blaydes, one French looking glass, one cace of bottells with hott waters, and 6 paire knives.
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The which he with little respecte receaved and little conferred with us; onlie before our departure demanded Master

<sup>1</sup> Arāa.<sup>2</sup> Nariād.<sup>3</sup> An error for Sardār Khān, for whom see p. 26.

Edwardes name and the number of our people, for that he toulde us he purposed to furnishe him with a sufficiente guard throughe his gover[n]mente. This nighte worde came of the burninge of Goga by the Portingalls; which put them in such feare that the next morneinge Sarder Chaune, with moste of [his] souldiers, went for the strentheninge of Cambaya and returned not untill the 31 ditto. All which tyme Master Edwardes, with the rest of his companie apointed for Agra, remained with us, noe smale hindrance to our bussines, haveinge but boughte at his departure, which was the 6 of Januarye, 170 chorles of indicoe, the laste of our tyme lymitted by our Generall beinge but to the fine [i.e. end] of that moneth.

Dureinge all the tyme the marchantes woulde come to noe resonable price for thire indicoes, perswaidinge themselves that all such monies and goodes broughte for Agra shoulde likewise be invested thire before our departure. As for our ryalls, noe man was suffered to exchange one, but onlie the mynt maister; by which meanes what quantitie we had was knowne to moste of the marchantes as to ourselves; such inconvenience in our traide are we subject too.

The 31th, Master Edwardes wente to desire leve to departe for Agra; but the Governor intreated him to staie tow daies more, his men not beinge in redines. Which tyme beinge expired, and findinge noe performance but delaies, he purposed to departe without them.

By our broker we understood the Governor was discontent[ed] with us for denyinge his officers seaven clothes [i.e. broadcloths] upon creditt for his use; the which to geve him content and to procure free libertye in our present bussines, we were forced to lett him have, with what other comoditie elce we had not packed up for Agra.

The firste [January], theie beinge redie to departe Amadavas for Agra, and the temperate time of the yeare beinge furr spent for travelers, Master Steele and Master Crowther, whoe were apointed to travell too and throughe Persia for the discoverye of that traide, desired to have thir comission drawne, whereby theie might the better understand what courses to hould for thire more conveniencye in thire jorneye; which in regarde of Master

Edwardes departure soe shortlie was agreed and concluded off as followeth:

*A comission geven by us whose names are here underwritten, in the behaulfe of the Righte Honorable and Right Worshipfull Companye, the Marchantes of London Traydinge to the Eastindies, unto our good frendes, Master Richard Steele and Master John Crowther, marchantes, now bound by Godes grace upon a discoverye to be by them maid in and throughe Persia, for the use and behoufe of the saide Eastindia Companye; which journey God make prosperous and send you with good success unto your countrye<sup>1</sup>.*

Firste, at your comeinge to Adgimere [Ajmer], whether God send you in salftie, you shall receve of Master William Edwardes the some of six hundred rials of eighte for and towards the chardges of your foresaide journey, which we esteeme by our computation wilbe sufficiente for that bussines; for the salfe passage of which monies your care must be at your comeinge to Agra to informe yourselves of such sufficient men as will take such monies upon thire bills of exchainge, to be repaid either in Lahor or Spaune [Ispahān], as you shall [think] fittinge to deliver for the furnishinge of your occasions.

And for that manic accidentes are insident in such longe travels and that some disaster maie befall you, whereby your provissione of moneyes maie fall shorte, we have thirefore delivered you letters of creditt unto the honourable knight, Sir Robert Sherlye, in particuler, as allsoe in generall, letters unto all Englishe and other Christians of what natione soever in Sphaune, for the furnishinge of such other monies as your nescessitie shall require, unto the vallew of fiftie poundes sterling, to be repaid upon sighte of your bills of exchainge, eyther in England or Agra<sup>2</sup>.

After your departure from Agra you are to proseed on your journeye towards Sphaune, with as mutch expedition as convenientlie you maie; and in all places where you shall passe to

<sup>1</sup> Printed (from another copy) in *Letters Received*, vol. 11, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> For a copy of this letter of credit see *Factory Records, Miscell.*, vol. 25, p. 63.

informe yourselves of the state and conditions of those countries, what hope of traide and comerce theie geve, both for sales of comodites to be broughte thither from England and likewise what retorne may be maide fittinge for England and other partes of Christendom. Especiallie when you come nere to Sphaune you are with all care and deligence to learne the conditions of the countrye betwixt Spha[u]ne and Jasques [Jask] upon the sea coaste, what hope of traide to be maide betwene the saide twoe places, what townes and citties of note, what comodites theie geve, and what theie receive. As allsoe what mannor of transportation for goodes and marchandize is between Jasques and Sphaun; with the waights, measures and moneis of every cheefe place in your travells, with all other circumstances fitt to be observed in such a discoverye.

When it shall please God to bringe you with salftye to Sphaune, you are to adresse yourselves to Sir Robert Sherly and to deliver him such letters as you carrye alonge for him, to procure by his assistance letters from the Kinge of Persia to all his governors, captains and commaunders of all his sea portes within his dominions, for the faire and peaceable intertainmente of our men, shippes and goodes in all such places as theye shall come or arye at. And if it shall happen your provisiõe of monies to fall shorte, then you maie deliver Sir Robert Sherley the letter of creditt which you carye directed to him, and not otherwise.

And when you shall have had full satisfaction in the pointes of your discoverye, you are to make twoe jornalls of your dailie proceedinges, from the tyme of your settinge forth from Adgemere untill your departure from Sphaune, which are to be under-written by you both. From whence Richard Steele is to goe to England with one of the saide jornalls, and John Crowther to retorne with all conveniente speede directlie for Agra or Adgimere with the other, for the better satisfaction of the Honorable and Worshipful Companie in England, as allsoe for the better directions of us here present in our proceedinges in these partes.

But if it shoulde please God that either of you shoulde decease in this your jorneie, eyther by sicknes or accidente (which God forbid), before your seperation at Sphaune, that then the sur-

vivor shall proceed directlie for England with a reasone of such discoverie as he or theie shall have maide.

And for the more certaintie and better satisfaction of him that shall retorne for Agra or Adgimeer, it is ordained that he shall have for his chardges backe, out of the remaininge moneyes restinge unspent, the one half of soe much as your chardges shall amounte unto till your comeinge to Sphaune; besides the chardges of a camell and camell man allowed him; provided that thire remane a competent some of moneie to carrye the saide Richard Steele into England, or otherwise, accordinge to this computation, you shall make a devisiōne of the remainder.

Not doubteinge but, out of your good discretions and lovinge frendshipp each to other, you will soe carrie this bussines as maie redownd to both your reputations. And soe, beseechinge God to blesse you in these your proceedinges, we comend you to His protection, whoe direct all your thoughtes and actions to His glorie.

WILLIAM EDWARDES

THOMAS ALDWORTHE

EDWARDE DODSWORTHE

THOMAS MITTFORD

The second ditto Master Edwardes, with the rest, departed Amadavas for Agra; whom we accompanied some three myles fourth of the towne, where by order from the Governor he was staied untill the sixte ditto, till a sufficient garde of horsmen were provided for him, which in shorter tyme if theie had pleased might have bene in redines. After our departure from Master Edwardes and his companie, Master Aldworthe and myselfe returned to Amadavas, hopinge nowe (after the departure of Master Edwardes) to have some better proceedinges in our bussines, haveinge but hitherto procured 170 chorles of indicoe towards the shippis laidinge and our tyme allmoste expired which was lymited by our Generall; soe that we rested doubtfull to effect the reste for which we came.

Whereupon, still findinge the marchantes, in hope of peace with the Portingalls to inhaunse thire price of indicoe, [we] determyned with ourselves to goe too Sarkes<sup>1</sup>, and thire to make

<sup>1</sup> Sarkhej, about 6 miles south-west of Ahmadābād. It was the centre of the indigo industry.

tryall with the countrie people which are the makers of it, what of them we mighte procure; yet restinge doubtfull this course would be a means to rase the price. The 7th we wente to Sarques, leveinge the reste of our marchantes at Amadavas to accepte of such parcells as thire shoulde be proffered, not thinckinge yt fittinge to take too manie with us untill we sawe what successe we had. At our firste comeinge we founde the poore people verie desirous to put off thire comoditie, beinge in wante of moneie, whose livinges depend in the makeinge of indicoe.

For the space of fowre daies we had such good ymploymentes that everie daie we packed up a hundred fardells [i.e. bales]. The 12 ditto, haveinge settled our bussines here, findeinge such good successe, Master Aldworth thoughte fittinge to retorne to Amadavas to make triall if the marchantes were more willinger to deale with us, for that nowe we were in good hope to effecte what we desired. Which theie perceveinge, and almost out of hope to conclude peace with the Portingalls, semed more willinge to deale with us; soe that in two daies he boughte thre hundred chorles, redie fardled, which was a good forwardnes to us. And in regarde of my smale help at Sarques, Master Aldworthe sente two of our marchantes more to helpe me, for whome at present I had sufficiente ymploymentes. By a pattamar [i.e. courier] I receaved a letter from Master Aldworth, and thire inclosed another from our Generall, wherein he acquainted us of some troubles he had with the Portingall frigattes interceptinge him for landinge our goodes by water; that dailie he expected the comeinge of the Vize Roye with a greate armado againste him, for the which he was prepared, onlie desireinge our retorne and the goodes aboarde, that before thire comeinge he mighte gett from amongste the sandes; and earnestlie wishinge us to make noe longer staie then the tyme he had lymited, for the good of [the] shipp that returned for England.

The 15th, Master Aldworthe returned from Amadavas, haveinge effected what he coulde thire; and withall acquainted me with the weake estate of Henry Smith, whoe desired to rest with us at Amadavas and not to proceede anie further with Master Edwardes towards Adgemecr, findeinge the travell tedious and himselfe much weakned with the flux. Our bussines almoste

effected and one beinge sufficient to staie at Sarques, I retorned the nexte daie to Henry Smith, being his desire; where at my comeinge I founde him exceedinge weke, but yet in good hope of his recoverie by the incoradgmente from those doctors. Here findinge good store of byrams, baftaes, and chintes offred us, I boughte the quantitie of 150 corge at resonable prices, and a good comoditie for Achene or Bantam.

The 18th ditto, Master Aldworth retorned from Sarques, haveing acomplished what we desired, to the number of 700 chorles thire; which, with others boughte in other places, was as mutch as our moneys woulde extend unto, and more then a competent proportion for the *Hopes* laideinge.

Sarques is distante from Amadavas three coase; the towne not bigge, but counted the best and [most?] perfecte soyle in all those partes for the makinge of indicoe, all other places beinge acompted but counterfeite unto it. The triall of indicoe maide here cheeflie is by water, and at Amadavas, Jambuzer [Jāmbusar] &c., by fire. Thire allowance of abatementes here is but halfe a sera [i.e. seer] upon the maunde, with halfe per cento in the monies; yet at Amadavas we had one sera per maunde and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cento in the monies. But at Sarques theie mutch stande upon thire former costomes, which by noe meanes theie will breke, and mutch boaste of the trewenes of thire indicoe. Yet founde we little difference, but all faithlesse and circumsised Moores and glad to have put anie cheeting tricke upon us, either in mingleinge<sup>1</sup> or otherwise.

At Sarques are twoe of the most ancientest monumentes that are in those partes; one of thire ch[i]efeste prophetes thire intombed, unto which manie resorte from farr as pillgrames, and three other of thire ancient Kinges, which is mutch respected after the mannor of the Moores. To the norwarde of the towne is the place where Chaun Canna (Generall of the Mogores forces) firste put the Guzarattes, the ancient inhabitants, to fleete [i.e. flight], whoe with thire kinge were driven to exile and shortlie after the rest of thire kingdome conquerd by Ekber, this Kinges father. The place where firste Chaun Canna forced them to retire

<sup>1</sup> There were many complaints of sand and dirt being mixed with the indigo.



is stronglie walled with brick, some myle and a halfe in cirquet, planted within with such fruites as those partes afordes, and watred verye plesantlie. Towardes the river side, which runeth alongste the wester side of the garden, he likewise builte a verie costlie house in memorye of that worthie overthrowe, called the Victorya; in which for some space after that battell foughte he remained, but now, beinge protector of the Prince, haith his place of residence in the cittye of Bramporte [Burhānpur]<sup>1</sup>.

Yf, please God, our traide to continewe in those partes, I thincke Amadavas the cheefest place for residence of foure or five factors; my resons [being] for the comodites thire to be had and maid for England, as likewise the conveniencye, it beinge soe neere to Sarques, where the moste and best indicoe is made in India. On the contrarie, to come upon the suden cannot chuse but mutch inhaunse the price, whereas otherwise those remaininge thire maie take thire best and fittest opertunityes; and allsoe yt is noe smale dainger to transporte our moneies soe openlie through that wide and spacious countrie, for that the inhabitantes cannot live nor travell in securitye for the Rashbootes, which ever haith bene in rebellione since the Mogores conqueringe thire countrie. Wherefore it wilbe needfull that the factors at Suratt passe up

<sup>1</sup> Withington gives the following account of Sarkhej (*Early Travels*, p. 207): 'In this towne are the sepulchers of the Kings of Guyseratt, a verie delicate churche [i.e. the chief *masjid*] and fayer tombes, which are keppe verye comelye; whither there is much resorteinge from all parts of the kingdome to vizitt theis tombes. Allsoe, aboute a myle and a halfe off, there is a verie fayer and pleasante garden, of a myle aboute, which compasseth a verie fayre statelie howse, seated delicately by the river side; which howse Chon Chon, now the cheifeste nobleman of the Mogull's, builte in memoriall of the greate victorie which hee gott of the laste Kinge of Guyseratt, takinge him prisoner, and likewise brought all his whole kingdome in subjection of the Greate Mogull, as yt still continueth; in memoriall wherof, the battell beeinge fought in this place, hee builte this howse and planted the orchard, raysinge the heigh wall rounde aboute yt. Noe man dwelleth in this howse; onlie a fewe poore men that are hyred to keepe the orchard cleane.'

Akbar overthrew the local dynasty, and annexed the kingdom, in 1573; but sporadic rebellions occurred until January 1584, when Mirza Abdurrahīm defeated Muzaffar Husain Mirza (but did not take him prisoner) in the battle here mentioned. Abdurrahīm was Viceroy of Gujarāt from 1583 to 1590, and in commemoration of the battle created the famous *Fateh Bāgh* (Garden of Victory), the remains of which are still to be seen. He was afterwards appointed *Khānkhānān* (chief of the nobles), and at the time of Dodsworth's visit was at Burhānpur, assisting Prince Parwiz, who was nominally in command of the forces stationed there to overawe the Deccan princes.

thire moneies by exchange, at such oportunities as theire best maie; and as for transportinge our goodes downe, which cheefflie wilbe indicoe, it wilbe nothings daingerous, for that the theves can make noe use of it, neither ever was [known] to meddle with it.

The 20th ditto, at Amadavas, Henry Smithe departed this life, and by leve of the Governor [was] buried in the place apointed for Christians; where over him we caused a tounge to be maid, with an inscription thireon of his name, the daie of the moneth and yeare of our Lorde; for whose deathe, in regarde of his loveinge and good inclination most thire were not a little sorrowfull; and I make noe questione but Master Edwardes, hereinge of his deathe, wilbe the like, beinge the cause of bringinge him soe tedious a jorneie, contrarye to the openione of others, althoughe earnestlie perswaded not [to] take them to the courte for divers reasons then aledged.

This daie Humphreye Elkinton and the rest retornd from Cambaya, haveinge onlie boughte some carpets, quiltes and conserves; the place at that presente afoarding noe better ymploymentes, the marchantes and arteficers haveinge disperced themselves into other partes of the countrey, ever since thire difference with the Portingalls, the cyttie cheefflie consisting of traide with them, beinge the porte for transportinge of thire goodes forth, the costome of which was the Kinges best benefitt. This towne the Portingalls have maide choyse of, it beinge soe neere Amadavas and Sarques for laidinge of thire indicoes and other comodities thire boughte, which everie weeke is passed thither in saltie with the cafala [see p. 104].

The 24th, Master Aldworthe and myselfe wente to the Governor, intreatinge leve to departe, whoe willinglie granted us his screcte; but that night, divers beinge robbed and murdred close by the cittie gates, order againe was geven we shoulde not departe untill such time as a sufficient garde was provided. The nexte morninge we received letters from Master Thomas Elkintone at Suratt, ymporting onlie of the Vize Royes arivall the 18 ditto at Sually roade with a strong force againste our Generall, of purpose, as theire reported, to chastice us from those partes, our traydinge as theye saie beinge prejudiciall to thire

state. The number of thire shipps were nyne, some 7, 8, and nyne hundred tuns, besides 60 frigates and twoe gallies, all fitted of purpose for our overthrow; the Portingalls riding without the sandes and we within. Thire force beinge greate, our Generall thoughte it convenient to use some meanes for weakninge thire strenth, to effect the which with advice he caused the *Hope* to fall downe to the southermost sande, whereby to geve them occassione, upon the wayinge of the rest, [to think] that theie intended to departe; by which pollicie to drawe thire enemies with more earnestnes on and, at thire entrance betwixt the sandes, thire if theie coulde to drive them agrounde. The *Hope* accordinge to directions was noe soner fall downe to the pointe of the sande but presentlie three of thire smalest were sent [to] boarde hir and thirtie six frigates, hopeinge to have towed hir awaie; all which came on with such resolution that, had it not bene through helpe of hir consortes, which cutt and lett slipp thire cables to rescue hir (which if theie had not done, it was mutch doubted she had bene gretlie indaingered); the enemye haveinge thrice entred, but yett repulsed, and at the lenth forced to refuse thire own ships and leape over borde, thinckinge thireby through meanes of thire frigetes to have saved themselves; whoe coulde not receve them as theie expected, beinge mutch spoyled and in contynuall dainger of our ord[n]ance, by which means most of them we forcd to comitt themselves to the mercilesse sea, where manie of them were devored, and the reste slane aboarde thire shipps, whoe in number were (as yt was reported) three hundred at least; the shipps presentlie after beinge cut from the *Hope* and sett on fire, blewe instantlie up in fearefull mannor, and afterwardes driveinge ashore, thire burnte to the grounde. Doubtesse had theie prevaled againste the *Hope* (which was Gods wonderfull mercie to prevent), the rest of our fleete had bene gretlie indaingered; for which gracious protectione God make us ever thanckfull.

After the receipte of this letter and peruseinge the contentes, we once more wente to the Governor to intreate licence to departe, withall acquaintinge him what accidentes had hapned betwixt our Englishe and the Portingalls at Suratt; where-

upon he gave order for six horsmen to be redie to guarde us alongste to Brodera and thire to see us provided sufficientlie from thence.

The 26th ditto, haveinge finished all our bussines, we departed Amadavas and went some fowre coase that nighte, haveinge most part of our goodes then with us, which was 40 carte lode of indicoe, with other goodes; for effectinge of which we were not littell glade, least retorneinge otherwise we might rather have bene acompted hinderers then forwarders of the voyadge.

The 27th, comeinge to Mundevas<sup>1</sup>, we were by strict order from Sarder Chaune thire staid untill his further order, and thireupon the gates of the towne shut upon us; where we urged the nessescitie of our retorne to the shippes, the Portingalls haveinge invaided them, but by noe meanes coulde we prevale. That which most greved us was that we doubted this to be the begin[n]inge of some newe troubles, as to hinder us with our goodes, whereby to detaine our shippes for thire owne securitie the longer. Beinge here delaied and uncertaine of the cause, [we] intreated that some of us might retorne to Sarder Chaune, but by noe meanes that they woulde permitt us, onely through mutch intreatie gave leve for one of our peons to carrye a letter for us to Meer Joffery [Mir Jafar], a Moore of good acompte, and cheefest frend thire unto the Englishe. Upon receipte of our letter he presentlie went to the Governor to knowe the cause of our staye. The Governor at his comeinge toulde him of letters that he had receved from Mocrob Chaune, importinge of our Generalls proceedinges against the Portingalls at Suallie, and of the salftie the cittie of Suratt was in by meanes of our forces then present, wishinge him by noe meanes to suffer us to retorne downe without a sufficient guarde to conduct us in salftie; of which he wished Meere Joffrey to informe us, and that the next daie, haveinge sent us more ayde, we shoulde have libertie to departe; to this effect by our peone we receaved aunswere, which was noe smale content unto us.

The 29th, our guarde beinge somewhat strenthned, we departed forwarde of our jorneye, leveinge all our indicoe to

<sup>1</sup> Mehmadaḥād, 18 miles south of Ahmadāḥād.

come with more leasure after, beinge noe dainger of it. This nighte we came to Narreaw [Nariād] and thire staied till the next morneinge.

The 31th, we came to Brodera; where we intended to have bought some callicoës, but the staie of our shipps in such dainger of the enemye caused us rather to proceed with what expedition we possible coulde.

The nexte daie [1 February] we departed Brodera, where Sarder Chaunes men tooke up more souldiers to assiste them, theie doubtinge some prejudice woulde hapen us, roberies beinge dailie comitted and manie murdered at the cittie gates, and (as we afterwarde understoode) that divers companies of Rashbootes laie in waite for us at our retorne, understandinge of our moneies which formerlie we had caryed up.

In the afternoone a false alarme was geven by a Banyan that six hundred men were up in armes lycinge in waighte for our comeinge by; which partie the captaine of our garde caused to be staied, and, comeinge to the place where he reported to have sene them and findinge to the contrarye, caused him to be stript and sever[e]lie punished. This night we lodged at a smale aldea, which the nighte before had bene robbed; where after the spoyle done, a little before our comeinge the watch retorned from pursewinge them.

The next daie, beinge the second ditto, we departed forward, our Brodera souldiers thire haveinge lefte us, yet were againe suplied fyve coase off, at Churmondo, but rather with knaves then honest men, as not longe after we founde by experience; for that this daie in the afternoone in a straighte [i.e. narrow place] we were sudenlie assaulted by three hundred Rashbootes and more, which thire had laied waytinge our retorne. Thire first onsett was in a narowe lane, inclosed soe with thick hedges on each side that by noe meanes we could offend them, yet theie contynuallie plaieinge upon the hinder parte of our caffala with thire shott and arrowes, we for the salftie of selves and goodes maide what haste we coulde for the plane, which theie perceveinge incoradginge them, themselves followed us with all earnestnes, and chardged us in such mannor that theie cutt off towë of our choaches, wherin one was a Side [see p. 4 n.],

beinge a Mahometan preest, but himself fliinge left onlie his monies to them. We in the meane time gott free of the lane, and comeinge to a place of more libertie maide a stand, whereup[on] the theves, beinge come into the plane, retired again behinde the hedges, and thire lett flye thire arowes feirclye againste us; and haveinge kilde one of our guardes horses, after a short tyme returned to thire praie, beinge jelious each of other. In this atempt manie poore travelers were hurte which came in our companie, yet not anie of our Englishe but onlie Humphreye Elkinton, beinge shott with an arrowe. This night comeinge to Demelode, where we rested untill the next morneinge, our cherurgeon (whome we intreted for in case of such accidentes) wanted noe ymploymentes, but was forced to spend all his store broughte with him upon the poore people, which came to shelter themselves under our protection, wherby manie of thire lives and goodes were saved.

The 3, we came to Baroche in salftie, God be praised, thire accountinge ourselves allmost past all danger; staiinge thire untill the fifte dicto, in vewing the accomptes of the clo[t]he thire bought, and thire left Master Oxwick to remaine for concludinge of bussines thire, and at the comeinge of our indicoe to passe yt over.

The 5th, we came to Suratt, where we staid all night, and in the eveninge went to Mocrob Chaune, acknowledginge his kindnes to us in procuringe us such a garde from Sarder Chaun, withall intreatinge leve the next morneinge with the rest of our Englishe to repaire downe to our shipps, understandinge that the next daie the Portingalls porposed to come within the sandes and fight with us; unto which request he willinglie granted, wishinge as he saide all fortunate successe unto us.

The next morneinge we went for Suallie, and carried with us all such English as were at Suratt, onlie leaveinge two to keepe the house. Comeinge aboarde, the Generall semed glade, although somewhat passionate for the late death of his sonne, yet in good redines to intertaine thire enemyes, whome hourelie he expected, theie makinge singnes everye highe water to come in, but still willinge to deferr the tyme. We haveinge expected them all the cheefe time of the springe tides and [these] nowe

begininge to decrease, we well perceaved thire unwillingnes to medle further with us. Yet were we not ignorant, by meanes of the cuntrye people, whoe for thire owne salftie neglected noe opertunitie to informe us of what theie understoode conserninge the Portingalls practises against us; whoe nowe, as we were informed, sought by stratagems the confusione of our shippes and men, not dareinge to encounter with thire forces against us.

The 9 ditto, we retorned to Suratt for the finishinge of accomptes and perfectinge the invoyces against the time of the goodes comeinge aboarde, that the shippes might noe longer be delaid then nessesitie required. But worde was brought this night by the poore inhabitantes of Sually that twoe boates sent with the ebb to fire our shippes, beinge fitted with poother, wildefire, and other combustious matter, which once more put the *Hope* in greate dainger, yet with mutch trouble freed hirselfe; to this effect, the next morneinge, our Generall writt us.

The night followinge, without further delaie theie attempted the like againe with fowre more, all chened together, beinge fitted with all the divellishe devices theie coulde invent, and with the advantadge of the tyde were lett drive upon us, and smaller botes to atend on them for to geve fire to thire traines beinge thwart our hauser; but by Godes providence theie were prevented by means of some of our boates then aheade, whereupon, notice beinge geven with a shott of our greate ordnance, fire was geven to the traines before theie endaingered us, and fowre of thire men which should have bene actors herein were taken, beinge forced for thire salftie from thire boates and by the wonderfull providence of the winde, then beinge westerlie, the fire workes were drive ashore, thire burninge in vyolent mannor to the verie keales.

The 13th ditto, the Vize Roye with his whole armado departed with disgrace enough and losse of moste of his best men. The Portingalls that were taken, beinge demaunded upon thire lives if theie knewe of anie more such practizes against us, absolutlie confessed this to be the last, and that the Vize Roye purposed to goe for Goa and not further this yeare

to strive against us; his people likewise driven to wante of water and victualls, and thire could not be suplied nor suffered to water in the river, but were repulsed by the Moores from the shoare.

The 19 ditto, our indicoes beinge come and for the most parte aboarde, whereupon we makeinge preparation to be gone, the Nabab sent the Sabander, with another Moore of good respect, earnestlie to intreat our Generall to staie 8 daies longer, for that he mutch doubted the retorne of the Vize Roye againste them after our departure. To which demaunde at the first our Generall maid deniall as an u[n]reasonable request, the time of yeare not permittinge. Yet, as he toulde the Sabander, after thire mutch intreatie, in hope of the continuance of leage and frendshipp betwixt us, and thirein to pleasure them, he would grant to thire desire, althoughe greatlie prejudiciall to his voyadge. Whereat theie semed mutch contented, and retorned with this answere to the Nabab. After thire departure, haveinge but littell ymploymentes, the Generall gave order for the examininge of the Portingalls that were actors in the fireworkes.

*The examination of Domingo Francisco, taken aboarde the Guifte, admiral, in Sually Roade, the twenty [February], anno domini 1614 [1615]<sup>1</sup>.*

He sayeth that he was borne in Lisboa and came twoe yeares sinc[e] to Goa, beinge the sonne of a maryner, and served with Nuna de Chuna [Nuno da Cunha] in the fight against Captaine Best in one of the foure gallions, and afterwarde went for Macao, upon the borders of Cheena, and retorned againe to Goa, where he haith remained tenn monethes, and was two monthes since comaunded to com in a gallione called the *St. Antonye* in this expidition for the porte of Sually, where the eight [*sic*] of this moneth he was taken in a boate, beinge sent of purpose to fire our fleete.

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Purchas (*Pilgrimes*, vol. 1, p. 518). Compare the particulars given by Bocarro (*Decada XIII*, p. 338); and for similar information obtained from another prisoner see *Marine Records, Miscell.*, vol. 4, p. 67.



The names, burden, with the number of the men and ordnance in each shipp, acordinge to the said Domingoes reporte in his examinatione, which came with the Vize Roye Don Jeronimo de Savedo for the distruction of our English at Suratt.

		tonns
Gallions	The Vize Royes shipp, called <i>All Saintes</i> , haveing 300 men, 28 peces.	800
	Michall de Soozo <sup>1</sup> , Capt. of <i>St. Bennett</i> , haveing 150 men, 20 peces.	700
	John Cayatho, Capt. of the <i>St. Lawrenzo</i> , haveing 160 men, 18 peces.	600
	Francisco Henryques, Capt. [of] <i>St. Christofer</i> , haveing 150 men, 18 peces.	600
	Francisco de Mirande, Capt. [of] <i>St. Jeronimo</i> , haveing 180 men, 16 peces.	500
	Gasper de Meall, Capt. of <i>St. Anthony</i> , haveing 140 men, 14 peces.	400
Shippes	Don Francisco Cavaco, Capt. of the <i>St. Peeter</i> , haveing 150 men, 8 peces.	200
	Don John de Mescarena, of the <i>St. Paul</i> , haveing 150 men, 8 peces.	200
	Andrea de Quellio, Capt. of the pinis, haveing 80 men, 4 peces.	120
Gallyes	Lewis de Bruto, Capt. of one gallye, haveinge 50 men.	
	Diego de Suzo, Capt. of thother gallie, haveinge 50 men.	

Sixtye frigettes, haveinge 20 souldiers apece and 18 oares of aside. The supplie afterwarde which came was twoe shippes of 200 tonns apece, twoe India juncques, and 8 smale boates ymployed to fire us. The Adm[i]ralls ordnance were all of brasse, but the other fyve galliouns were haulfe brasse and thother irone; against all which forces yt pleased the Allmightye most gratuslie to protect us and deliver us from all thire divellishe practices and devices.

The 25 ditto, the Nabab came downe to Sually of purpose to

<sup>1</sup> Bocarro gives the names as Miguel de Sousa Pimentel, João Caiado de Gamboa, Francisco Henriques, Francis de Miranda Henriques, Gaspar de Mello de Sampaio, Francis Coutinho, João Mascarenhas, André Coelho, Luiz de Brito, Diogo de Sousa de Menezes.

vissitt our Generall before our departure; whoe, after our Generall meetinge him ashoare, came with him aboarde, promising with manie protestations all the fredoms in our traide which he could procure, and at his departure gave the Generall divers presentes, allsoe to the sailors monie and callicoes to be devided amongst them.

This evening the Generall, with consent of others, thought fittinge that I should retorne for England in the *Hope* for divers resons, and to advize the Companie concerninge the present state of our bussines at Suratt. Yt pleased the Generall well to consider the unseasonable time of the yeare for our retorne, and in regard of the uncertaintye of our passedge proporti[o]ned us with victualls for nyne monthes, with fiftye fyve men, but afterwards granted me five more to make the nomber sixtie, beinge subject to fall late upon our coaste, and thirefore uncertaine what occasione for men we shoulde have.

This night we received letters from Edward Hunt<sup>1</sup>, importinge of his comeinge to Baroche with the indicoe from Agra, which longe had bene expected, beinge in all but thirtie three fardells; for whose comeinge we staid foure or five daies, and for better dispeede procured to have it costomed at Vereawe and not to be brought to the alfondica at Suratt; which was a good furthrance to our bussines and the greatest kindnes that we received from them. The indicoe and Hunt beinge come aboarde, the Generall thought yt fittinge upon conchlussione to leve with Master Aldworth theise directions for the disposinge of the bussines after our departure.

*A consultation helde aboarde the Guifte, admirall, conser[n]ginge the disposinge of the remaynder of stock here left on shore att Suratt in the costodye of Master Thomas Aldworthe, to be disposed by him for the Companyes best use and benifitt, vzd.<sup>2</sup>*

Whereas by computation thire is nowe lefte, in monie, leade, [quicksilver] and other comodites, to the vallew of tenn thou-

<sup>1</sup> For an account of him see *Best*, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Printed (from O.C. 255) in *Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 25. The date is there given as 28 February.

sand poundes sterling in the costodie of Master Thomas Aldworthe, yt is thoughte fitt by us whose names are here under-written that present saile be maide of the foresaide goodes to the best advantaidge as the time will nowe permitt, and that Master Aldworth make present repare to Amadavas and Sarques, thire to invest the residew<sup>1</sup> of the monie and goodes, in the best [sorts of] indicoes of Sarques and Byana that maie be had. And if yt soe happen that yow finde good store of indicoe to be boughte at reasonable prices, wherby to invest more moneyes then yow have, we wishe that yow passe bills upon Master Edwardes for such monies as yow shall have ymploymentes [for], except he can at Agra invest his monies in Byana indecoe at a better rate. Provided allwaies that the indicoes yow shall buye at Amadavas be sent downe to Baroche before the comeinge of the raines, and thire remane in convenient places for thire salftie untill the arivall of our shippes.

For the kepeinge of your accomptes, we houlde yt fittinge, acordinge to the Companies directions, that theie be kept at Suratt, and all such acomptes kepte in other places to have reference unto them.

For the people nowe lefte with yow for the Companies service in thes partes to be ymployed in Baroche and Amadavas, we wishe yow to have care over them that thire carridge maie be such as maie tende to the creditt and reputation of our cuntrye. And for that the cheefest part of our bussines dependes in thes partes, we wishe yow to retaine those yow now have with yow. As allsoe, yf yow shall have cause to use more for the accomplishinge of bussines, we then thinck fitt yow write to Master Edwardes to furnishe yow with them; which wilbe best, for avoydinge and lesseninge the chardge above.

Soe desireinge God to add a blessinge to all honest indevours tending to the furtherance of this bussines of ours and of all that maie suceed us, to Gods glorie and our ymployers benefitt.

NICHOLAS DOWNTONE, *Generall*

Then present: THOMAS ELKINTONE, and  
EDWARDE DODSWORTHE

<sup>1</sup> 'Procedue' in the other copy. A few additions to the text have been made from that version.



The 3 [March] we wayghed and departed Sually roade; that nighte stayinge twharte of the barr, accordinge as the Generall had promised, for the comeinge fourth of the Mallabars, which otherwise durst not, for feare of the Portingalls, then lyeinge with thire frigettes in the river. But haveinge staid untill the next morneinge and perceveinge nothings of thire comeinge, [we] departed forward; where at that instante passed by us twentie one sale of frigets bounde for the river, keepeinge alongst without reach of our ordnance. In the eveninge, the tyde of flud beinge bent and with the winde not able to steme it, we were forced to ankor.

The fourth ditto, in the morneinge we had sight of the Portingall fleght rydeinge againste Damon; whoc instantlie sett saile after us, but gott little of us. The next daie thire Admirall had got ahead [of] his fleete, contynewinge his course, and by meanes of the winde vereinge to the westwarde was in the eveninge to windward of us. The rest of his fleete for the most parte fourth of sighte. The sixt dicto, in the morneinge thire Admirall and Vize Admirall were twhart of us, and three more not fur asterne; at which tyme we expect[ed] they woulde have foughte, and for that purpose prepared our fightes<sup>1</sup>. But at noone, better consideringe (as yt shoulde seme) the dainger which might ensewe, [they] bore up for Goa, thinckeinge it sufficient for the disgrace receved in the last fighte to be thought to chace us from off the coaste.

This nighte the winde comeinge up at N°N°W., we kept our course alongst the coaste untill the 11th ditto, where, in the latitude of 13 degrees, we parted from our Generall and rest of our consortes; they houldeinge thire course for Acheene and Bantam and we for England, whether [i.e. whither] God of His mercie sende us in salftie.

The 12 ditto, after our departure with our Generall, we helde our course S.S.W. by the no[r]ther ende of the Maldives<sup>2</sup>, where by expyence we founde manie shoaldes and ilandes laide

<sup>1</sup> Boarding-nets.

<sup>2</sup> The Maldives extend over a space of 470 miles north and south, and 70 miles east and west. The northernmost atoll is about 350 miles south-west of Cape Comorin.

in the plattes most false and eronious, which, as we maie conjecture, is lade downe by the Portingalls to make those seas seme more daingerous unto us. After our departure from the coaste, from the latitude of 6 degres N. to 7 degres south latitude we were for the most parte becalmed, with mutch raine and suden gustes, comonlie in the nightes.

The 26 Aprill in 15 degres we had sight of thre Hollanders to the westward, for whome we shortned saile to speake with them, and at our comeing together founde them to be of Amsterdam bounde for Bantam. Theie likewise demaunded of us from whence we came; to whome wee answered from Aden, not thinckinge it fitt to acquainte them with our beinge at Suratt; and after some little conference more, parted from each other.

May the first, at 6 of the clock in the morneinge we had sighte of an ilande eyghtene leages from us, bearinge S. by west from us; but the nighte drawinge on, we stooode it off againe till the morninge and then stooode in againe, thinckinge thire to replenish our store of water, beinge uncertaine of the windes and pasedge to the Cape. But comeinge with the shore and beinge becalmed, sent off the pinis to see what anckoredge, watringe and reffreshinge the place aforded; whoe in the eveninge retorned, haveing found noe lesse depth then 12 fathome close by the shoare, nether anie watringe or reffreshinge, but onlie some lande turtles, of which theie broughte some fewe (a meate well relishinge to a hungrye stomacke where noe better is). This island lieth in the latitude of 21 degrees S.<sup>1</sup>; from whence that nighte we departed, hastinge forwarde for the Cape, whereby (if soe it shoulde plesse God) to advice our frendes, whome we hoped to mete thire, of our proceedings at Suratt.

From hence untill our fallinge with the maine we had the windes for the moste parte from the north, veringe to the westwarde, with mutch extremitie of wether and sudden gustes. The fourthe [June] at twoe of the clocke in the morninge we had sighte of the maine in 34 degrees and in the eveninge were twharte of Bay Formoso<sup>2</sup>, where here alongste the shoare wee

<sup>1</sup> Possibly Réunion.

<sup>2</sup> The Baya Formosa of the early voyagers was apparently the present Plettenberg Bay.

founde the currante settinge to the westwardes. At nighte, doubteinge of a southerlie winde, stooede it off againe, but through the forceablenes of the currante and adverse windes we could not laie houlde againe of the shoare untill the twelvth ditto, having bene driven allmoste into 37 degrees.

The 12, in the morneinge we had sighte againe of the maine to the northwarde of Cape Falsoe<sup>1</sup>, and at noone were in 34 degrees and 30 min[u]tes, Cape Bona Spei<sup>2</sup> bereinge No.E. two leagues off. But the winde decresing, towards nighte we sto[o]de it of againe from the shore fortie leges at the leaste, the winde for the moste parte at W.N<sup>o</sup>W., soe contineweinge untill the 16 ditto, at which time we had wethered the baye to the northwarde twentye leagues; which standinge off soe fur was noe smale hindrance to us, with dainger to have bene put by the roade, wherby our voyadge mighte mutch have bene prejudicd, haveinge bene 4 monthes in comeinge from Suratt, and then but little water in the shipp.

The 17, beinge Satterdaye, comeinge nere the entrance of Salldanya Baye we had sight of fowre saile in the roade, which we conjectured to be English; yet beinge nighte before we entred the roade, and seinge divers ord[n]ance and smale shott discharged from them, with manie false fires and other lightes, maide us to doubt the worste and to anckor shorte untill we had maide them more perfectlie. Halfe an houre after came one of thire boates aboarde, by whome we understoode that it was our English fleete bounde for Suratt, and under the comaunde of Captane Keelinge<sup>3</sup>; for which happye meetinge I accounted myselfe fortunate, that I mighte advice them of our proceedinges at Suratt, whereby theie mighte the better be provided againste the enemye, which without questione will seeke by all meanes to surprize them. This night, beinge late, I forbore to vissitt the Generall, leaste I mighte seme troublesome.

The next morneinge goeinge aboarde the *Dragon*, a counsell was called to understande of me of our interta[in]mente att Suratt; where not onlie I acquainted them with the state and

<sup>1</sup> Cape Hangklip, on the south-eastern point of False Bay.

<sup>2</sup> The old name for the Cape of Good Hope.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Embassy of Sir T. Roe*, p. 7.

condition of our trade and resistance of the enemie, but for thire information more at large drewe them out a breefe abstract of all our proceedinges from our first arivall to the tyme of our departure, the which I deliverd to Captaine Keeling. Such wantes of provissions as I had neede of, in regarde of our late retorne, were willinglie suplied by him, whereof I had respect in my demaunde to desire noe more from them then my necessitie required; the particulers as followeth:

Received from Captaine Keeling.	One butt, towe hogsheedes, and towe terces <sup>1</sup> of wine, towe hogsheeds of beefe; one hogsheede of peas; another of oatemeale; a butt of beere; and tow hundred Newland fish <sup>2</sup> .
Provisions deliverd unto him.	Towe mynions <sup>3</sup> , with thire truckes, carridges, and other furniture; with some rice and gravances <sup>4</sup> .

The 20, beinge Twesdaie, Captaine Keeling with his fleete departed Saldanya for Suratt. And we with all speede hastinge the dispatch of our bussines thire to be gone homwardes, this afternoone comeing ashoare I met with Crosse [see p. 50] and his companie, which thire were lefte by directions from the Indian Companie in England to make a discovery in that countrie, and beinge destitute of refreshinge for our people in-treated fowre of his companie to acquainte Quore of my comeinge, whoe, as Captaine Keeling toulde me, had furnished him with victualls sufficient for his whole fleete dureinge the whole time of [their] staie thire. Theise men beinge gone some thre myles towards his house (whether divers times formerlie theie had recourse in salftie) were sett upon by those people and cruelie wounded, some of them to deathe, which by meanes of our cherurgione were recovered before my departure thence.

The 21, Crosse, desirous to doe me what pleasure he mighte, requested fowre muskettes of me, with the which he doubted not but in salftie to goe and bringe downe Quore, for that the other were soe wounded for wante of meanes to keepe them off, at lenth the Saldanians beatinge them downe with stones and retireinge from them at thire plesure. The muskets beinge deliverd

<sup>1</sup> A tierce was one-third of a pipe, or 42 wine gallons:

<sup>2</sup> Newfoundland cod.

<sup>3</sup> A cannon of small calibre.

<sup>4</sup> Pulse (beans, lentils, etc.).



him, he departed the nexte morneing, and in the eveninge retorne. Quore at his comeinge semed willing in what he mighte to plesure me, not altogether beinge unmynde full of Sir Thomas Smith and the courtesies received of him; excusinge his absence in not retorneinge to us againe outwarde bounde, being by meanes of his frendes hindred, contrarie to his desire. Instantlie after his comeinge, he sent his acquaintance for cattell to be broughte and his whole familie to come downe, wherby I might take notice of his substance, presumeinge of thire salftie dureing my staie thire. He afterwarde, understandinge of the vyolence used to our Englishe, acquainted me with the cyvill discorde amongst themselves, that many times he and his frendes were robbed by the mountainers. He demaunded wherefore those men were lefte behinde the shippes, but understandinge theie were thither sent by Sir Thomas Smith, semed verie glad; demaundinge the number of them and what quantitie of musketts theie shoulde have lefte them. I toulde him foure, but he intreated for six, and that if theie woulde asiste him and his frendes theie would resorte unto them with thire wives, children and cattell, to remaine with them; and thireupon agreed for the brin[g]inge downe thire hearde. But further understandinge that more of our natione shoulde come to reside thire, he became an earnest suter that I woulde speake to Sir Thomas Smith that order might be geven for the buildinge of him a house after the mannor in England; the which I promised shoulde be acomplished, if in the meane tyme he would kindlie use those left thire with him.

The 25, he caused foure beeves and thirtie sheepe to be brought downe; and as an extreordinarie kindnes sent allsoe one of his wives, with others to accompanie hir, all wrapte in thire mantles of shepe skins, and noe waies inferior to the men for dirte and greace. The cattell we boughte; and at nighte, haveinge finished our watringe, cleared the shoare, prepareinge with the first opertunitie of wynde to sett saile and departe.

The 26th ditto, with a prosperous gale at So.E. we departed Saldania; and at the earnest requeste of Cross lefte him our longe boate, to goe over in to the ilande untill his wounded men were recovered aboute him, and then to repare againe over to the maine; and furnished [him] allsoe with poother, shott, and such other provissions as we could spare him, both for his defence and

relefe, untill he were better acquainted with the countrye people; not doubtinge but by his endeoures and other supplies hereafter to see a plantation, or at leaste a discoverye further into that countrye, and the rather for that the Salldanians, beinge at discorde with themselves, wilbe glade to live in salftie and to be protected by our Englishe; and the cheefest reasone which moves me that our people shall live in salftie at the begininge untill better suplie come and thire fortified, is that, when we were allmost under saile, Quore with a greate number of the inhabitantes, and at the leaste two thousand heade of cattell, were, accordinge as he had promised, come downe to remane with Cross in vallew<sup>e</sup> under the Table, which formerlie theie never use[d] to doe at the time of shippinge beinge thire.

After our departure from the Cape towards St. Hellena, we were for the moste part of tenn daies becalmed, which was more then usuall in that place; by resone of which hindrance, cominge the 13 ditto to the latitude [of the island?] and as we supposed 60 leagues to the eastward, I consented with the maister to keepe our course for England, and not to omytt anie oportunitie, our retorne beinge of soe greate importance for advisinge the Company of our proceedinges in India.

From the heighte of St. Hellena we helde our course towards the ilands of Cape de Verd, crossinge the Equanoctiall the 28 ditto in foure degrees variation, contynewinge till we came nere the coaste of Ginnye, from whence we were forced to the westward by extremity of raines and doubte of the turnados. From hence untill our aryvall nothinge ofred worthie off notice takeinge. Onlie in 29 degrees No. lat. we met with a shipp of Holland come from the Morusoes [Mauritius], thither set forth for to cutt wood, semeinge to us a bastarde ybonie [i.e. ebony], but contrary to thire expectation (as theie reported) there found a lamentable wrack of 4 shippes, broken on the rockes, come from Bantam and the Mollucoes, [of] twoe whereof the goodes and men were loste; the third, moste of his goodes were saved, with part wherof this shipp was laden; a fouerth in that storme was driven off to sea and forced to retorne with a jurye mane mast<sup>2</sup>. With the maister of this shipp I consented to accompanie for England; but he,

<sup>1</sup> In a 'volley' or mass.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 44.

findinge us an extreordinarie hindrance, after tenn daies left us, not acquaintinge us with thire intentes or affordinge soe much courtesie as the carridge of a letter; which justlie I impute to thire inbred bowrishe disspositione.

After the departure of the Hollander we were much troubled with stormie and tempesteous wether, which together with our werisome passadge did much weaken and bringe downe our people; yett (I prayse God) without the losse of anie, untill my arivall one the coaste of Irlande, where we ankored the 27 of October 1615 thwarte of the ryver of Limbreck<sup>1</sup>, but were againe that nighte through extremitye of winde drive[n] to sea, and thire forced to hull and try it<sup>2</sup> till the firste of November. At which time, by Gods exceedinge mercie, we met with a Scottish barck bounde for Bilbowe [Bilbao], whoe, weryed with contrarye windes, was willinge for 30*l*. [?] to pilate us for Celbige<sup>3</sup>; where the 2 ditto we harbored in salftie, for which God make us ever thanckfull.

Here I founde a remainder of Captaine Maynrings ungodlie crewe, whoe latelie had obtained thire pardons from the Kinge<sup>4</sup>. Of these I rested much in doubte, untill a supplie of men were sent from Sir Henrie Folliott, whoe upon my letter semed willinge to plesure me in the Companies behaulfe, and to secure us for anie dainger of those hungrye woolfes gapeinge for the benifitt of our labors. After these troubles I dispeeded away two messingers with letters for England, here staieinge in the meane tyme for supplies from thence<sup>5</sup>.

### F I N I S<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Limerick. The river is the Shannon.

<sup>2</sup> Lie to, with just enough canvas spread to keep the vessel's head to the sea.

<sup>3</sup> Killybegs Bay, on the north side of Donegal Bay.

<sup>4</sup> Reference to piracies committed by Henry Mainwaring will be found in *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1613-14, pp. 425, 480, and 1615-16, pp. 139, 213.

<sup>5</sup> Dodsworth's letter reached London on 24 November, and on 3 December the East India Company presented a petition to the Privy Council, stating that they had despatched carpenters and mariners to assist the *Hope* and were hiring a ship to bring her round to the Thames; they therefore craved permission to send 500*l*. to Ireland to cover the necessary expenses. This request was granted, and letters were ordered to be written accordingly. (*Ibid.* 1615-16, p. 341.)

<sup>6</sup> On the back page of the MS. are two memoranda: (i) a note of articles desired by the Emperor (this is practically identical with that given on p. 187); (ii) hints for the better packing of items in the outward cargoes.

AN EAST-INDIA COLATION,  
or, A DISCOURSE of TRAVELS, *set forth in sundry  
observations, briefe and delightfull; collected by the  
AUTHOR in a voyage he made unto the EAST-  
INDIES, of almost foure yeares continuance*<sup>1</sup>.

Written by C[HRISTOPHER] F[AREWELL]<sup>2</sup>.  
London, 1633.

... All things being in readinesse and prepared for our intended voyage, the Companies orders with our commission sealed up and sent aboard; yards acrossed, and a fayre winde; that now tis time to prosecute my purpose, and to lanch forth into the deepes.

Our fleet (therefore) consisted of foure good ships, viz. the *New Yeares Gift*, and the *Hector*, the *Marchants Hope*, and the *Salomon*; which together set sayle from the Downes about the ninth of March 1613 [1614]; of burthen from three hundred to eight hundred tonnes; compleatly furnisht (besides private provisions) with varieties for health and preservation of life; warlike appoynted, though peaceably intended, in a faire and generous way of trading, however report may wrong our reputation. Our Generall, or cheife commander, an understanding gentleman, Captaine Nicolas Downton, whose religious orders (besides the Honorable Companies), both for divine duties and civill societie, publisht and hung up in every shippe, with his owne good example, no doubt prevented many grosse offences, which usually happen in promiscuous multitudes.

<sup>1</sup> This duodecimo, printed by B. A. and T. F. (probably Benjamin Allen and Thomas Fawcett) contains an address to the reader (6 pp.), the main narrative (64 pp.), a further address to the reader (5 pp.), and an addendum narrating some experiences of the author in Spain (24 pp.).

<sup>2</sup> Farewell, of whose antecedents nothing is known, was engaged as a factor 'of the third sort' on 20 December 1613, on the strength of his having spent three years in Spain and being well acquainted with Spanish, and on the recommendation of Christopher Harris, 'a gent of My Lord of Northampton's' (*Supplementary Calendar*, p. 36). From his book it appears that he had also been in Barbary.

Our marchants or factors were many (well nigh thirty), and most of them men of experience as ever the Company employed any; linguists and residents in forraigne countryes, as Turkie, Barbarie, Spaine and Italy, with other places of best commerce; whereof foure were principals and had each his severall charge, and respect next unto the Generall (save in marine affaires, wherein the masters onely commanded). Theyr names [were] Master William Edwards, Master Nicolas Ensworth, Master Thomas Elkington, and Master Edward Dodsworth; he alone more bred a gentleman then a marchant, and our Governours kinsman.

Our ordinarie meanes to stirre up mens affections to goodnesse, as prayer and divine service twice a day, on the sabbaths especially; and choyce of good bookes (in common) of the Companies providing to that end (to the comfort of all) were not wanting<sup>1</sup>; besides a preacher in his monthly visites for instruction and ministration of the sacrament.

Our places of refreshing were three. The first [was the] Cape Boon Sperance [Cape of Good Hope], which afforded us plenty of booes and baas (or beeves and sheepe) for small pieces of copper, whereof the salvages make themselves rings and bracelets. They goe all naked, save onely (before) a little flappe; and feed (as they looke and smell) most nastily. Subtill they are, theevish, and very treacherous. Their houses are like bee-hives; and many together make a towne, wherewith (upon occasion of changing theyr heards to fresh pastures, or the sight of two or three muskets wherat they tremble), away they skuddle (every one his castle on his back), posting to a new plantation.

From hence, having repayed our fleete, refresht ourselves, and strecht our limbes (he that listed) to the verie tops of the highest mountaines and craggie rocks, which, for our paines, discovered unto us a goodly country, extending farre in length and breadth, in lower hils and greene vallies running on together, pleasant to behold: yet alwayes in company, more or fewer, and

<sup>1</sup> As we have seen (p. 78), Speed's *Theatre* was one of the works provided. In the Eighth Voyage (1611) the Company sent out, for the use of their factors, Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, and the works of the Rev. William Perkins (*The First Letter Book*, p. 419).

with our armes, least the baboones out of some thicket or bush should sodenly surprise us: at the end of three weekes or thereabouts wee set sayle agayne, and not long after came to an anker at Saint Lawrence Iland, in the Bay of Saint Augustine.

Here wee landed, and traded three dayes with the people; and had large and fat oxen for five shillings an ox; most curious darts, and of divers fashions as art could make, and bright as silver, for halfe a ryall or threepence. But without silver wee could have nothing; which [silver] they knew from counterfeit as well as any. Wee saw no towne nor house they had, though doubtlesse better then the Soldanians provided, by good conjectures; for theyr carriage had a glosse of humanity, a tincture of understanding. Theyr persons full of proportion and comely feiture, tall, straight, strong, and sturdy; fierce of countenance; admirable markesmen at the dart, and active; verie faire and blacke as jett (for the blackest they count the fairest), and all naked as the former (perhaps but servants to theyr lords and masters). Many were desirous to have made some discovery into the country; but we durst not contradict our orders nor hazard the danger of a thicke wood (whereof wee knew no end), which of necessitie must have bin past.

Our last touch was at Socatora, where wee found a king; not a native, but of the royall blood of the antient kings of Barbarie<sup>1</sup>, who got this small iland by conquest and held the natives in great servitude. Whome our Generall presented, and would have entertained aboard the shippes, but he refused it; yet for three or foure dayes space came downe daily to the waterside from his castle, with his guard of soldiers, borne in a palanquine; and after the Moorish fashion (crosse-legged) sitting in state under a rich cannopie uppon 'Turky carpets spread on the ground; and as richly clad in cloth of gold. [He] converst in the Arabeck and Portugall tongues with the Generall, marchants, and masters, both of marchandizing and navigating affaires; himselfe being a marchant, as likewise all the kings of those easterne parts, who trade by theyr agents and factors; of whom wee bought a good quantity of aloes Socatrina (even his whole store). And in the art of navigation, astronomie, with other branches of the mathe-

<sup>1</sup> This was a mistake (see notes on pp. 13, 60).

mattickes (by report of those that understood) [he was] verie judicious, having celestiall and terrestriall globes, his instruments and astralabe, about him to shew us, which he had gotten (bought or presented) of former fleets, and every yeare increasing his stocke by English, Dutch, Portugals, and Spanish that came that way. A man of a lively countenance, and well favoured; about fourtie yeeres of age; as full of courtesie and affability as might stand with his majestie, and as full of majestie (respecting his commoditie) as might be, for he was a kingly marchant and a marchantlike king. At parting he gave amongst us (to some in particuler) abundance of dates, in heapes and lumpes, which made our *guisados*<sup>1</sup>, our brothes and dumplins so much the sweeter. Whom agayne we gratified from the ships with our sea-musicke (great gunnes and trumpets).

And thus weying and setting sayle agayne (with starbord and larboord, port and helme alee) we steered on our course, till, with the helpe of God and our constant monsoone (or westerly trade winde), we verie happily (but hardly) recovered the rendezvous to Surat and came to an anker in the roade of Swallie, about the tenth of November<sup>2</sup>. And of our great company (thankes bec to God) [we] lost onely one man; who came sicke of an ague out of England. But here quickly they began to dye faster of fluxes and feavers.

Upon advise of our arrivall (by a dispatch to Surat, some eight<sup>3</sup> miles up into the countrey), Master Thomas Aldworth, the Companies chiefe agent there, an understanding gentleman and once sheriffe of the citie of Bristoll, came downe to us, a joyfull man, and for many enterchangeable causes was as joyfully received. And with him coach and horse for convoy of the marchants to the city; for now, the terme (or vintage rather) after our long vacation approaching, wee must leave the ships awhile and apply ourselves to land-service.

In our short journey upon the way, everything almost seemed new unto me, the people with theyr customes especially; not the Moores (for I had secne of them before in Spaine and Barbarie), but the antient natives of the country, called Banians; who

<sup>1</sup> Spanish for stews or fricassees.

<sup>2</sup> Really 15 October.

<sup>3</sup> This is an underestimate; but miles differed at that time.

(notwithstanding theyr different religions) live civillie, neighbour-like, one among another in cities, townes, and villages (but not in houses) together. Whom (in concourse) wee first saw at Swallie, the first myle from the waterside; where the Mocodam or constable received us, profered us his owne with the townes service, and performed it in such necessities and complements of provision as wee required or would accept off—bread, wine, plantines, taddie [i.e. toddy], and suchlike *regalos*<sup>1</sup> the scanty place afforded; wherewith more delighted then refresht (as with novelty and variety), we set onward through an even and a solitary way till we came in sight of Surat, and of a navigable river which ran close under the towne walls; upon which (within) stood a castle, a good ornament to the place and fortified with men and munition.

This river wee past, and landed right before the Alfondica or customhouse; and so along through many streets (humming like bees in swarmes with multitudes of people in white coates, men and women, close bodied and full of gathering to the mid-leg, with breeches and stockings in one, ruffling like bootes<sup>2</sup> and all of one single callico; this being their generall and most neate or angelicall habite, which sparkles, of their kinde of starching, like silver spangles) untill, almost smothered with clouds of heat and dust, wee came to the English house, a day or two after Master Aldworthes returne from the shippes with the prime marchants; where wee found ourselves as at home in all respects well accommodated, save lodging; which with brevity was very commodiously supplied, by taking another house, with an orchard and pleasant walkes upon the rooffe (after the Spanish and the Moorish building) to our rich content; having chambers, dyet, servants, coach and horse, with attendance of Indians called peones<sup>3</sup> for the way; and all at our honourable masters charge, except our apparell, wherein alone and by our sallaries we differd from common prentises; onely (yet ingeniously<sup>4</sup>) acknowledging a precedencie in our little commonweale for a kinde of representation, to prevent confusion.

<sup>1</sup> Spanish for dainties.

<sup>2</sup> He is thinking of the high boots then worn in England.

<sup>3</sup> Foot-men (Port. *peão*).

<sup>4</sup> Ingenuously.



But now, before I proceed (being called upon by order) I am willing (for more variety) to entertaine awhile my courteous reader with a short discourse of myselfe and another; being not a whit impertinent, but rather a good compliment [i.e. complement], if not a comely ornament to the history itselfe: how that in few dayes I here suddenly fell sicke of a burning fever and (thanks be to God) as sodainly recovered. For, fearing the extremity of that raving and uncomfortable sicknesse, against his will I prevayled with our chyrurgion to let me bleed till I fainted againe, as foreseeing it to be my remedy; applyed all comfortable things to my head; tooke [to] my bed; and, full of perplexity to dye sencelesse, I commended myselfe to God. After some idle talke to my friends about me, I fell into a slumber; but quickly wakened by a desire to ease my stomacke, and had at least a dozen vomits naturally, which gave mee a most comfortable night: turned my great sorrowes into the greater rejoycings, at the lively apprehension of God's infinite mercies: made me forthwith an instrument of comfort to another, that shortly after, of a bloody fluxe, sickened and dyed, by such words and warrants from the word of truth and my own experience of inward coelestiall joyes beyond expression, to honest hearts and heavenly mindes, that wonne me his earnest attention, to his and my owne advantage, for I applyed him the closer; which took so deepe an impression in him that it left him not to his last breath<sup>1</sup>.

To mention all circumstances and passages of his sixe dayes sicknesse would seeme a needlesse curiositie; which (in comparison of some then languishing and repining under the same crosse) he suffered with singular patience, and spent it most in abstinence, silence, and meditation. The night before his death, in private conference, watching with him, he told me (after his accustomed mildnesse) he had thought of my former talke and should finde my words true. The next morning, upon my

<sup>1</sup> Farewell's piety appears to have been of the intermittent kind. When he was at Ahmadābād his colleagues complained that he had refused to attend the daily prayers; whereupon Kerridge rejoined that he was not surprised, for while at Surat Farewell either refrained from attendance or would 'lye sleepinge (if not fayned) in the same roome whilst we were at prayer' (*Supplementary Calendar*, p. 80).

perswasion, he received the sacrament, after he had made his will in the presence of another marchant and myselfe, one Master Edward Hamden [Holmden]; wherein, in effect (having his memory perfect to the last), he would, more then once or twice, have given me his whole estate (being of some value, I remember). But excusing myselfe (with thanks for his love) I refused it, as not expedient for myselfe (methought), in regard of the worke in hand, though lawfull (I knew) for another; least religion should suffer and my labor of love bee thought mercenarie; whercof (God knowes) I was exceeding jealous to prevent occasion or the least prejudice in any, the sicke man especially.

After all this, having tasted some comfortable broth I caused to bee made for him by our English cook, he presently fell into a swound, all thinking he had beene dead. But after a while reviving, raysed himselfe up and looked earnestly round about the chamber, being full of good company, marchants and others, whereof our preacher was one; at least a dozen, with some strangers, as our Indian doctor, etc. And fixing his eyes upon me, beckened me to him with his hand. I went, and sate close by him on his bed. Hee presently caught me in his armes and hugg'd me (not like a dying man) with such strength and unutterable expressions of joy (between speech and speechlesse) that moved passion in all, but myselfe especially, to drowne him in teares: as, Ah, my friend, my friend, my true, my happy, my faithfull friend: and, Ah, the joyes! the joyes! the joyes!: Aah, Aah, Aah, and the like. Flung away his things about him, wherein (he sayd) he had taken too much delight, in token how slightly hee now valued them or the whole world; reached forth his hand to all the company; lifting his eyes on high with an overjoyed countenance, where his minde in silence had beene long before. And thus (in a blessed peace) about nine of the clocke on a Wednesday morning, being the 23 of November 1614, he tooke his last farewell of this wretched life, and changed it, no doubt, for a better. His name [was] Master Timothy Wood, a yong man and once a mercer (I thinke) in Cheapside, but then a factor for the Honourable East India Company. . . .

My sad storie (of a joy tryumphant) being ended, and the

funerals performed, I am called upon to a further relation of our journey up within the countrey, to make provision of goods for best and speediest returnes home unto our honourable masters. To which end it was ordayned in consultation that, by a distribution of our company into foure squadrons, the prime cities or marts for commoditie, trade, and commerce of that rich kingdome should be invested by us, as Baroch and Brodera, Amadavaz and Cambaya; each in distance at least a dayes journey one from another. Our commodities were divers, as sundry sorts of stones, aggate<sup>1</sup> cupps of curious arte, quilts, conserves, drugges, cotton wools, and (for bulke or grosse lading) indicoes and callicoes.

Our first journey or place of rest from Surat was Baroch; being three dayes on the way, much toyled with heate and dust, in regard of our slow proceedings with our heavy carriages and the toylesome passage of two rivers<sup>2</sup>, with ladings and reladings of our goods (interruptions and stayes being worse then a continuall progresse). But here [i.e. at Broach] wee were well refresht at the English house; for Master John Oxwicke (a Spanish marchant), being appointed chiefe for that place, and of a weekes antiquity before, had made good provision for our comming, as well for our persons as the dispatch and clearing our charge of the customehouse.

From hence within a day or two wee set forth, and by slow journies (as before) came to Brodera<sup>3</sup>; a dryer place (by a great river) but the greater citie; and all a plaine and pleasant country (Baroch especially) for orchards, tankes or ponds, verie spacious and artificially made (in forme, for worke and workemanshippe, not unlike our bathes) for generall use and uses; tombes and piramides, many in open fields and private gardens; about which are to be seene certaine penitentiaries or votaries<sup>4</sup> (they say), but lunatickes and men (I thinke) really possest with devils, as in the Gospell is mentioned; theyr bodies naked, cut and lanced with

<sup>1</sup> Agates were obtained from mines at Ratanpur (Rājipīla State), about 14 miles east of Broach. Cambay was a great mart for them and for articles made from them.

<sup>2</sup> The Tāpti and the Narbada.

<sup>3</sup> Baroda, on the Vishwāmitri River.

<sup>4</sup> Fakirs. See Finch's account of them (*Early Travels*, p. 175).

knives or stones; staring and stalking to and fro; no lesse wonderfull then dreadfull to behold. As was also the sight of a pagot<sup>1</sup>, or a cell of devotion descending into a vault under ground; where, being desirous of discoveries, wee saw an ugly idoll against a wall, representing, it seemes, theyr god (or theyr feare), but a plaine devill, as wee call it, in like forme paynted or graven; whom a certaine sect of Banians doe worship; whereof there are many sects. But of this no more; *Purchase* [His] *Pilgrimage*, from relation of exact travellers, hath them lively set forth.

In this city, as all others throughout both Asia's<sup>2</sup> and Afrique, wee were lodged in the Ceraglio<sup>3</sup>, a spacious place made of purpose for all travellers, natives as else (for they have not the use of innes, as in Christendome), with commodious warehouses round about, of one story, foure square, in the manner of galleries; and under them dry walkes and places to feed their coach-oxen, camels, elephants, and horses; but in the middle all open, like our Exchange, it being supposed that every marchant, gentleman, or nobleman hath his tent or coach to sleepe in; if neyther, they make the best shift they can. And for their provision, they bring it with them, or buy it in the towne.

Here it was determined by a consultation, for causes or supposals moving them, (being before appointed for Cambaya) that myselfe should goe backe to Baroch to assist Master Oxwicke there, in that mayne investment of calicoes; having a commission given mee (beyond my expectation or desire) that, in case of the least cause, by unequall carriage in our masters businesse, or in particular toward myselfe (being perswaded, as they told mee, that, if he would take the matter well or live peaceably with any, I was the man), a word from my hand should displace him; such an opinion they all seemed to have of my integritie. And he no lesse on the other side assured of me; for, concealing whatsoever might move passion or incite him to jealousie, I applyed myselfe to him, by complements of love and friendly offices, till he became so well possest<sup>4</sup> of me, both for judgment and honesty

<sup>1</sup> Pagoda was the term usually applied to Hindu places of worship.

<sup>2</sup> Asia Major and Asia Minor.

<sup>3</sup> He means of course a caravanserai (*kārvān sarāī*).

<sup>4</sup> An obsolete form of 'prepossessed.'

(upon some experiences of them both) that in effect he made me his secretary, and would not write a letter of consequence in his owne affaires (as occasions there were betweene him and some others of principall note) without my advise and allowance for a passe; wherein (I thanke God) I never fayl'd but pleased him, by his owne often ingenious [i.e. ingenuous] acknowledgements, with good reasons for his satisfaction.

But yet all this while I am still in Brodera, in the house of a rich Banian, well lodged and entertayned for three dayes, till he had procured me from the Governour, Mosaph Chan [Musaff Khān], or Lord Mosaph, a guard of soldiers, under a captaine, of tenne, both horse and foote, with shot and lance, for my safe convoy to Baroch (our English friends being all gone forward and myselfe alone), with a kinsman of his owne for my linguist and coachmate. And not without cause; for my coach on the way was sodenly stayed by a company of slaves that thwarted<sup>1</sup> us, but speedily rescued by my guard, with knockes on both sides, yet no hurt on ours. And all with such celerity that I had scarce time to draw my sword and shew myselfe a party before they were quite vanisht. Then on againe we went merrily (my Banian especially), laughing and talking, giving and eating of our junkets till we came neare to the citie. There I dismiss my valliant soldiers; gratified their desert with a small reward (yet to their rich content): and at parting had a generall salam of them (or congee to the ground), with a short vollie, and adieu.

And now being come to Baroch<sup>2</sup>, to the English house, my friend bids me lovingly welcome; to whom I gave my letters from our cape marchants<sup>3</sup> and (after colation) shewed him my generall commission; who presently [i.e. instantly] declared

<sup>1</sup> Obstructed, or opposed.

<sup>2</sup> The date of his arrival appears to have been about 15 December (*Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 228).

<sup>3</sup> See Aldworth's letter of 9 December (*Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 218) and Mitford's note to Farewell, the date of which is probably also the 9th (*ibid.* p. 232). The former explains that, as the idea of leaving a factory at Baroda has been given up, Farewell has been sent down to assist Oxwick; the latter declares that the two factors are to be on an equal footing. That Farewell was given the power to displace Oxwick if he saw cause seems improbable; but he is obviously desirous of showing how much he was trusted by his official superiors.

himselfe that, seeing the matter must be so, he was right glad of my company, as of one whom of all others he would have made choyce of for his friend and associate. And thus, well possest of each other, on we went together in our masters businesse, buying callicoes as fast as we could procure our brokers to bring us in good bargaines or direct us to them; spending our interims of vacation for about two moneths space as best liked us; sometimes in visites to the Governour; sometimes taking our coach to breath the country ayre; sometimes walking upon the citie walles<sup>1</sup>, which from that stately scituation gave us a goodly prospect, pregnant for delight and meditation; and lastly, our owne house, having high and pleasant tarasses or walkes on the roofe, for domesticke recreation; that in this pleasant place (in number foure English<sup>2</sup>) we lived like lords, to the honour and profit of our honourable masters and to our owne hearts content (save a little jarre that fell out at last, about a parcell of calicoes, but lovingly and honestly reconciled againe).

By this time our generall investments drawing to a period, and most of our goods from all parts sent aboard, marchantlike made up and marked as in the margent<sup>3</sup>; and understanding our dispersed companies and friends to be againe united and on the way towards us (save such as were appointed for the Great Mogores court, namely, Master Edwards, our preacher, and some others), we could [do] no lesse (having now leysure enough) but set forth to meet them; it beeing a pleasant observation (at a distance) to note the order of their coaches and carriages, drawne by two faire fat oxen apeece, with bells about theyr neckes, jinge, jinge, and softly jogging on; extending all in length like a teeme (for the way admits no familiarity), inveloped with a cloud of dust (for a *quitasol*<sup>4</sup> to shield them from the sunne); and guarded on eyther side with swords, halfe pikes and targets<sup>5</sup>, small shot, bowes and arrowes, etc.; as if (presented to a novelist<sup>6</sup>) it had bin the spoyles of a tryumph leading captive, or a preparation to some sad execution.

<sup>1</sup> Except on the river face the walls are now much dilapidated.

<sup>2</sup> Oxwick, Farewell, Ball, and Butt.

<sup>3</sup> Omitted by Farewell's printer. It was doubtless the Company's bale-mark, reproduced at p. 206 of *Letters Received*, vol. II.

<sup>4</sup> Sunshade (Port.).

<sup>5</sup> Shields or bucklers.

<sup>6</sup> In the old sense of 'novice' or 'newcomer.'

Being all met together, we generally salute one another, and each his friend in particular, with mutuall congratulations for our good succeſſe and ſafe returns thus farre; having loſt but one (as I remember)—a yong gentleman, Maſter Henry Smith, nephew to Sir Thomas Smith, our Governour, who dyed of a bloody fluxe at Amadavas, being a prime youth and much lamented. And here unawares (as many light on ill bargaines), I overhaſtily changed my horſe for a coach and tooke his place that left it, to conferre with my friend and familiar acquaintance, Maſter Ralph Preſton, a religious gentleman. And, quite forgetfull of his miſhap outward-bound, I fell into the very ſame, by letting one legge hang out of the coach. And (in talke) moving it to and fro, the wheele caught it; which my friend perceiving, he preſently cryed out, to ſtay the coach, Racke, Racke<sup>1</sup> (as Maſter Henry Smith had done before for him); which ſaved both our legs from breaking, but did rend my heele, which for a weeke ſo tormented mee that I could ſcarce take reſt; yet (thankes to God for a good fleſh) ſoone well againe; but could not travayle in a fortnight after, nor ſcarce then ſave in a palanquine, to Surat.

And thence aboard the ſhips againe, ſcarce cold yet of the Portugals bloud, by meanes of a late cruell fight in our abſence, occaſioned by the Portugals, who (with ſixe gallions or great ſhips of warre, two gallyes, and ſixty frigats) ſodainly ſurprised the *Marchants Hope*, which was deepe and richly laden for England; not doubting to have taken her, as ſhee lay at anker with the reſt; in that unexpected manner cutting their cables by the halſer<sup>2</sup>, and with a ſtrong current of the tide forcing in upon her. But were ſoundly beaten for theyr haſte; for in laying her aboard on all parts with throngs of men and freſh ſupplies, the maſter and company (being vigilant and valiant) ſtoutly reſiſted [and] gave them ſo hote entertainment that theyr legs and armes were ſent flying into the ayre and the ſhip peſtered with their dead and dying bodies, ſcorched and wounded with weapons and fireworkes, and theyr bloud iſſuing out [of] the ſcupper holes into the ſea, as not willing to abide theyr fury. By this time the reſt of our fleet had likewise cut their cables and were under ſayle; increaſing the fight a long time (by report, with loſſe but of two

<sup>1</sup> Hind. *rakh*, ſtop!

<sup>2</sup> An obſolete form of 'hawſer.'

or three of our men) till they had made such a slaughter amongst them (the frigats especially) that theyr dismembred bodyes, after they had breathed their last with shrieks and cryes in the conflict, lay floting on the sea, and, covering the shore, were taken up dayly for many dayes by the Portugal inhabitants, and the Indians for theyr spoyle. And the rest, unable to hold out, away they went, with no lesse shame and losse of former reputation then perpetuall honour to our English name, throughout the Indies.

The next tydings that I heard (being now againe in the fleet with the rest, expecting our further passage to the southward<sup>1</sup>, according to the Companies commission) was a messenger from our Generall or chiefe commander, that I must come to speake with him. Aboord the admirall I went, a little limping of my late hurt. And being come, he receyved me with courtesie; tooke me apart into the gallery; and (to be briefe) told me that, for such and such reasons, the Councell had determined of me for Surat, and therefore wisht mee to provide for the shore; namely<sup>2</sup> (with leave of modesty I speake it), for the good opinion they had justly conceived of me, to be a friend of trust unto Master Aldworth, and an ayde unto our masters affaires; occasioned by some refractorie fugitives that, not long before our arrivall, to make a purchase [i.e. obtain some booty] had attempted his death; being forced into his chamber (a weakly man) to stand upon his guard to preserve his life<sup>3</sup>. All which did not a little cheere me up and quicken in me a noble resolution unto my charge; though incredibly thenceforth (as from God, to keepe me exercised, I thinke) from time to time opposed by some firebrands, some seditious malecontents or other, repining my respect, to my great discouragement and no small sufferings; notwithstanding my best indeavours and desert, which doubtlesse stirred them the more and increased my owne sorrowes; for wrath is cruel and anger is outrageous, but who is able to stand before envie (*Pro[verbs]*, 27, 4)?

Few dayes after this, at last parting, I went aboard againe to

<sup>1</sup> Meaning to Bantam.

<sup>2</sup> Especially.

<sup>3</sup> This attempt, by some runaway sailors, to rob Aldworth is referred to in *Letters Received*, vol. iv, p. 230.



take my leave of the Generall and (not without open demonstrations of his love, teares and embracements <sup>1</sup>) having commended him and his whole proceedings to the blessing of the Divine providence, I left him and, with my good wishes to all the rest, in company with our factorie went ashore to Surat. Having had, but few nights before, a dreame that, in my passage for Bantan, two sturdy knaves grapled with mee to have heaved me overboard, but in the conflict to save myselfe I waked; and, finding it but a dreame, was glad.

Here for a moneth or two, wanting no leasure, we spent our time at Surat, every man as (with approbation) best liked him; sometimes within doores, sometimes abroad. Now with our provision visiting this garden; now that orchard. Today fresh rivers; tomorrow open feilds and faire monuments (whereof there are store). But alwaies (after the countries custome) in coach or on horse, to prevent disgrace. Our recreation, for the most part, bow and arrowes. And free from all molestation of the inhabitants: a mixt people, quiet, peaceable, very subtile; civill, and universallie governed under one king, but diversly law'd and customed. Their grayne is wheat for the better, rice and divers kindes else for the common sort. Their provision of other victuall is beeves and buffeloes, sheepe and goates, young kidde[s], and hennes in abundance and of little value, for the great plenty and fewenesse of eaters; for the Banians, of whatsoever sect (being halfe the inhabitants, and the antient natives of the kingdome) by their lawes eate no kinde of flesh, nor anything that hath life in it. Nor dare they kill anything (for theyr lives), though never so venomous; no, not a mouse nor a louse, but will rather feed them. Their greatest cruelty is to lay it downe and let it shift for itselfe. O happy creatures that breede amongst the Banians. A kinde of Rechabits also, for they never drinke wine nor any strong drinke, but water only; yet so fat and sleeke that they shine agayne. Confectuaries of all sorts, as sugar-cakes and marchpanes <sup>2</sup>, suckets <sup>3</sup> and marmelades, rice, pulse, and other grayne, stewed with butter and spices after theyr most savorie

<sup>1</sup> On p. 180 Downton speaks warmly of Farewell.

<sup>2</sup> The confectionery more familiar as 'marzipan.'

<sup>3</sup> Sweetmeats, mostly of candied fruit.

fashion, is there onely feeding. But the Moores and Mahometanes [are] more at liberty, for they abstaine from nothing but swines flesh; which is a cause that many parts of the country, even whole fields, doe swarme with them. These drinke wine liberally, and strong waters; yet never drunke but in the night. And then theyr women, theyr wives and concubines (whereof they are stored according to theyr states), sing most melodiously, with such elevated and shrill voyces, strayned unto the highest, yet sweet and tuneable, rising and falling according to their art and skill (for every country has his owne, and more or lesse excelling) that I have been ravisht in those silent seasons with the sweet eccho or reflection thereof from a faire distance, and kept waking houres together, listning to them; anticipating (in my desires) the new moones, which they constantly thus celebrate; for the heavenly representation thereof (me thought), where commonly my meditations had their end.

For at like times especially (though superstitiously) they observe, or rather prophane, these and the like ceremonies<sup>1</sup>. . . . Then they annoint their heads with oyle, and their cups runne over; making their faces also to shine with costly oyntments and odoriferous, at first sight or newes of the new moone; which they congratulate with great joy, the slave to his lord, the servant to his master, and one friend to another; *a la Española* crying *Albricias*, *Albricias*<sup>2</sup>, a reward for our watchfulness or good tydings.

Their chiefe recreation is riding of horses, swift and active for discipline and service, with lance, bow, and target; whereof they abound and have very good, not inferiour to the Spanish jennet. But their princely sport is hunting the wilde bore and antelope, [a sport] peculiar to the King, his nobles, and gentry. A people throughout of mighty estate or wealth, yet all subject in a moment to the spoile, or to be restored, at the pleasure of their prince. Full of majestie in their port, and no lesse of expectation for respect; sumptuous in their buildings; curious in their orchards and gardens, beautified with artificiall ponds, fountaines, and waterworkes; populous in their attendance<sup>3</sup>; rich in attire;

<sup>1</sup> He proceeds to quote at length references in the Bible to rejoicings with music

<sup>2</sup> Spanish for a gratuity in reward for good news.

<sup>3</sup> Meaning that they had numerous attendants.

imperious lords over their servants, and cruell in their corrections; having also, both for state and war, abundance of elephants, which likewise they use for theyr journeyes as sumpter horses, and to carry their women and children, twenty perhaps, in a frame of timber (castle-like) upon his backe, with windowes, and small pieces of ordnance planted forward and backward (the country being full of theeves, and dangerous). And upon his brawny necke, monkie-like, of same bignesse with his head, or bigger, sits a man astride in full bredth, with a hooke in his hand, like a sickle, for a bridle and a spurre to guide and stay him; which is done with the least touch of the sharpe poynt upon his noale<sup>1</sup>, whereof hee is very tender. [He] hath a body like a house, but a tayle like a ratte, erecting it like a cedar; little eyes, but great sight; very melancholly, but wise (they say) and full of understanding (or subtilty rather) for a beast. Sometimes they become madd (of what I know not), and breaking loose endanger multitudes. [He] is fed somewhat costly, as with good bread, musk-millions [musk melons], sugarcanes, sweete stalkes, and sower grasse or sedge of the worst. [He] steeres like a hulke, stifnecked, almost all of one peice; feeds himselfe with his trunck or snoute (that deadly instrument for his rage), being of a just length to the ground; taking his meat with the end thereof and winding it up (or under, rather) to his mouth, so eates it; but drinckes therewith at length. His stable is commonly the open ayre; a massie yron chaine his halter; a great tree his manger, and the shadie boughes his shelter. And thus stands this monster, by one of his legges (of like proportion with a post or a beame) all the day bound to the good behaviour, til occasion release him. In whose description I have bin somewhat the larger, because God himselfe calls him the cheife of his wayes, Behemoth by name (*Job*, 40).

Theyr drinke in generall (for ordinary) is water, made relishable by arte or nature, by thirst or some preparative, and wholesome by a naturall concoction [i.e. mixture] or a causuall preservative, according to each constitution and the countries provision, with a mans owne discretion in the use of the creature; every one to himselfe herein being (as wee say) either a foole or a physition; having sweetemeates enough for the former, remedies and

<sup>1</sup> Noll, or crown of the head.

receits (or conceites) for the latter. *El boracho no quiero passa, mas el aguado ci*, saith the Spanish proverbe<sup>1</sup> . . .<sup>2</sup>.

The country affoordes no wine, but artificiall distillations of simples, like our hot waters. Very tastfull they are, and wholesome; but not so strong, so ful of spirit as ours; which makes the Moores to prize them [i.e. ours] farre above theyr owne, and to esteeme them for the best present or marchandize [that] can be brought them. Onely the Portugal inhabitants, in their townes and cities (being many and great) doe make a kinde of wine of dried grapes or raysins of the sunne, for relish and operation the best (I thinke) in the world, not inferiour to the Spanish nectar, *el vino de San Martin*, being pleasant, strong, and cordiall, called raysin wine, almost of the colour of Alicant or steelebacke<sup>3</sup>; which (thanks to our honourable masters) wee were seldome without, or some other, to concoct the crudity of our not so wholesome waters, at meales especially; and never did us any hurt, but good, though bought (but not immediately) of an enemy; for wee were wise and warie enough in that.

Their habite (as I have sayd) is white, light, and thinne, fit for the countreyes heate; but thicker and richer clad in the winter with pintadoes<sup>4</sup>, silke stuffes, sattins, and damasks, dyed into all sorts of lively and good colers, cloth of gold, silver, and tyssue of their own, whereof they have plenty, being quilted with a cotton wooll between the outside and the inner lining; for their seasons doe alter there with a sensible difference, as here.

Their coynes in silver (as for gold, I never sawe any, that I remember) are mamudes and ruppees; the mamude in value about tenpence halfe-penny English<sup>5</sup>; the ruppee more or lesse, as they differ in their names and valuations; of which there are foure or five sorts at least, and the least of them about two mamudes and a halfe the ruppee; stamped on both sides with Moorish characters, and in forme very thicke and round. Their

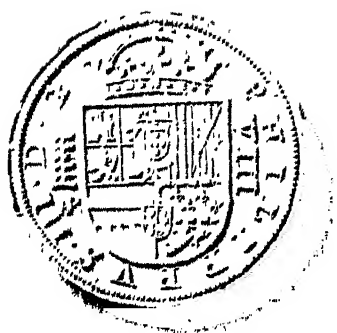
<sup>1</sup> 'The drunkard does not care for raisins, but the water-drinker loves them.'

<sup>2</sup> Some verses in the original are here omitted.

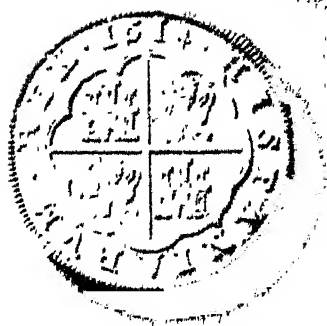
<sup>3</sup> A name given to Alicant wine, which was supposed to strengthen the back.

<sup>4</sup> Really cotton stuffs, 'painted' (hence the name) by a special process.

<sup>5</sup> This is rather under the usual valuation. For the coinage generally, see the notes by Elkington and Ufflet in the *Supplementary Calendar*, pp. 46, 48.



1



2



3



4



# COINS USED IN WESTERN INDIA

(See page ix for explanation)

copper mony, whereof they have such plenty as (if tollerable for exportation<sup>1</sup>) might prove a good returne; being made into great churlish peeces they call pises<sup>2</sup>, whereof 30 commonly make a mamudee, and of the rest proportionably; but still, after the inconstant current of the exchange, almost continually rising and falling; which is in the power of the sheraffs (bankers or mony-changers) to alter at their pleasure.

Their country for the most part (being plaine from hils and mountaines) is indifferently stored with mescites or churches, very fayre and sumptuous: with gongas [see p. 14] also, or villages: townes and cities, pleasant, great, and populous, river'd, walled, castled, and munitioned. And constantly watered, at a certaine yearely season (to wit, our summer, from towards the end of May to the end of August, or thereabout), with frequent sober raines, scarce two faire dayes together without some showers or other; and all the yeare after, so cleere a firmament as not a cloud to be seene, that I have beene weary of fayre weather. And this rayne water by the better sort is received into vaults, made for the nonce [i.e. purpose], to serve them for theyr drinke all the yeare after; being wholsomer (they say) then theyr other waters. As also, this raynie season is observed of all for the best times to travayle in.

I could yet say more in divers particulars, but having sayd enough (I thinke) in prooffe of my travels and prayse of the countries goodnesse, it were superfluous, and beyond my intent, to become cosmographically, and therefore I will here confine myselfe. Being now summoned to a consultation<sup>3</sup>, determining a journey to be made unto the foresayd city of Amadavas, by Master Thomas Aldworth, the Companies chiefe Agent, myselfe his second (for cashier and accountant), with foure other English, whereof two were homebred marchants, and [no?] more; to

<sup>1</sup> In 1619 the Surat factors sent a consignment of pice to Persia in lieu of copper. They had intended to melt them down first, but the authorities forbade them to do so (*English Factories*, 1618-21, pp. 142, 144).

<sup>2</sup> *Paisa*. Elkington reckons 34 to the *mahmūdī*.

<sup>3</sup> No record has been found of this consultation or of the date when Aldworth and his companions started on their journey. Kerridge, however, states (*Brit. Mus. Addl. MSS.* no. 9366, f. 4) that Aldworth reached Ahmadābād from Cambay, in company with Mukarrab Khān, about 4 July 1615; and this leads us to infer that the party left Surat about the middle of June.

provide goods in readinesse for our next fleet, that the ships (to theyr great damage) might not bee deteyned as before.

And for more safety, both of goods and lives, our charge wee had with us being of great importance and the country (as I have sayd) very dangerous by reason of theeves, which continually (upon intelligence) lye arm'd in troupes on the way for booties, wee held it best (though otherwise inconvenient), Mocrob Chan, the Governour of Surat, then travelling toward court at the Kings command, to take the benefit of his lascar [*lashkar*] or campe (as also divers others; it being the countries custome in like sort to set forth, or with a caravan (a *caffala*), a multitude of all sorts of people, with theyr goods, to that end gathered together), for our more safe convoy; which yet we enjoyed not past one night, aside of Baroch, till wee met againe at Cambaya, being both our worse and farther way. For this great lord, with his many hands and much helpe, posting faster then wee could follow with our heavy and slow carriages, left us alone in the midst of danger (God onely protecting us); being three nights on the way before wee could reach to Cambaya; and spent two of them, with their sun-schorching dayes, by the waterside, having only our tent for shelter, expecting [i.e. awaiting] there a boate to passe us over out of that purgatorie and another of mischievous minded men and murmuring malecontents, taddie-pot marchants and heartlesse souldiers; repining not onely my charge but my precedency also, or next respect unto Master Aldworth (and that by his precise order, against my owne desire, enjoynd me) to their antient matrimony<sup>1</sup>; [he] making me both his coachmate and his righthand at table. And the more I sought by gentlenesse (for the present) to appease theyr spight, or (in continuance) by some change of behaviour to confront their folly

<sup>1</sup> The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives a clue to this unusual meaning of the word by quoting a passage (of much later date) referring to a practice in the meat trade of putting a lighter joint in the scale with a heavier one, thus averaging the weight. Doubtless in a wider sense it was applied to any pair of persons who were dissimilar in powers or importance. Here Farewell suggests that it was not unusual, when the chief of a factory was a person (like Aldworth) of great authority and experience, to appoint as Second one who was quite a junior; and hints that his associates thought that this should have been done on the present occasion, instead of employing a man of such superior ability as himself.

(*Pro[verbs]*, 26. 4. 5), the more (like themselves) they (still conspiring) in both respects mistooke and traduced me; declaring hereby the implacable disposition of envy. But God alone did plead my cause and (by degrees) put them to silence in theyr graves.

Here at Sarode<sup>1</sup> (for so the place is called) during our aboard, worthy of observation, I tooke notice of some part of Gods omnipotent workes of wonder, in the flux and reflux of that famous river of Cambaya, for fury not unfitly called the Boare<sup>2</sup>; for the tyde from the maine sea twice a day once beginning to flow (contrary to common course of nature), comes tumbling in amayne, with such a roaring noyse afarre off of mighty foaming waves (like white ruffes about their proud neckes) that it strikes admiration and terrour to the beholder; in such sort that those high bankes, with theyr dry sands and oaes<sup>3</sup>, are sodenly covered and filled up to the very toppes, for the space of many leagues in length together, yet never overflowen; and upon returne, with expedition leaves it (for the most part) emptie and dry againe; being (in absence of the tyde) a firme passage for all that dare adventure it; which thousands have done (and daylie doe, though some speed better), not taking theyr times aright, or the uncertaine tydes deceiving them, upon credible report, like Pharoes host in the Red Sea, have been overwhelmed, man and beast, horse and camels, elephants and all, with infinite treasures, swept away into that rich ocean, before (upon too short a warning) they could recover, backward or forward, the shore againe; for the river is of a very spacious bredth in many places over.

Being here, after much toyle in moving and removing our charge from place to place, for our best advantage against an assault (which we houely expected, that wee durst not sleepe but by short snatches and turnes), as also for our most commodious imbarquing (the best being bad enough in that wild place), comes a barque, receives ourselves and goods aboard, and in a late evening at a full water we set sayle and (thankes be to God,

<sup>1</sup> Sārod, on the south side of the estuary of the Mahi (here about 3 miles wide), opposite to Cambay.

<sup>2</sup> This bore is described also by Finch (*Early Travels*, p. 174).

<sup>3</sup> Circular spots in the river bed.



who is mightier then the mighty waves of the sea), not without great danger, about midnight we came to an anker right before Cambaya; and [on] the Sabbath morning landed in that rich, fayre, and neat city, so famous throughout the world.

Being now on shore, notwithstanding in good safety of life, we found ourselves little better then fallen out of the frying-pan (as they say) into the fire; for all our goods were presently sequestred and carried to the Kings Alfondica till his customes of seaven per cent. were payd, viz. foure in, and three out; which, according to the value, would have come to a good summe of mony. Whereat we were much dismayed, Master Aldworth especially, for his oversight, or too much confidence in Mocrob Chans favor; whom we often solicited there almost a fortnight, as an instrument to procure the release of our sayd goods, the power (in effect) being in his owne hands<sup>1</sup>; but all in vaine, till at last, a few dayes before our departure thence, Master Aldworth and myselfe (as at other times) went againe to him. And sitting right before him, very neere, he eyed me all over, talking meanwhile to his then small company. At length [he] bids our broker aske me concerning the clothes I wore, what stuffe it was? where made? and other questions; to which I answered him. In conclusion, we took our leave and went home, without a word of comfort. A while after comes our broker and tells Master Aldworth good tydings from Mocrob Chan, that, if he could procure him my suite, wee should forthwith have our goods delivered us. No sooner had Master Aldworth moved it unto me, as a favour which I may not deny him, I told him, whatere it were, I would grant it. The word being spoken, I presently brusht up my amiable<sup>2</sup> suite and sent it my Lord Mocrob by the hand of our broker; who brought us the same evening a warrant under his signet for our goods, which the next morning, to our much content, I went and cleared; our charge being more precious then life, and our reputation above all.

But what this humorous [i.e. fanciful] lord did with my suite I cannot tell, save (by our brokers conjecture) to shew unto his women; who for a novelty (though a toy) was observed to preferre

<sup>1</sup> Mukarrab Khān had the general control of the Gujarāt ports.

<sup>2</sup> In the obsolete sense of exciting affection.

his fancy to halfe a kingdome; for he had seene many as good before, and farre better, when, in his greatest pompe, our chiefe Agent, with all his traine in our best bravery, presented His Lordship from our honourable masters, the Governour and Company, at our first comming.

During our abode here, we bought sundry commodities, as best liked us, for our returnes, and (to expell melancholy, that it should not domineere, being too much occasioned) tooke our recreation in the city, orchards, and fields. But above all, to observe the apes in that peaceable habitation of Banians did not a little stirre my bloud with their apish trickes on the houses, leaping from house to house in troupes, with their little ones in clusters clutching about them; making dayly worke for the tyler and mason, by pulling out here a tyle and there a stone, till they had uncovered whole houses in quarters and halfe quarters. And then through the rooffe (as jeering the inhabitants for their silly patience) made such moppes and mowes at them, such friscoes [i.e. capers] and carieres [i.e. leaps or runs] to and againe; now and then letting fall a stone or a tyle upon their bombasted<sup>1</sup> heads and their shoulders, and watching in the fall what became of it; with twenty other trickes, that it would make a thiefe (as they say) slip his halter and leape over the gallowes (if he might) to see the sport. And if a stone (unlook'd for) chanced to come amongst them, that they tooke in so high a derision (to bee disturb'd in their worke) that they would flye at a man with open mouth, as if they meant to swallow him. This goodly sight being also to bee seene a great part of the country thereabout; whole fields alive, and the trees covered, with overgrowne apes and monkie, parrats and paraquites, chattering and leaping from bough to bough till [they] come to the top, and then shew their teeth and theyr tayles to passengers for a salutation.

Thus and thus, to and fro, changing our wearied thoughts from sadder objects, wee entertained the way, in company of Mocrob Chan and his lascar, till the third day from Cambaya, early in a morning, wee entred Amadavaz, that great and populous citie, the metropolis of all those parts of Guizerat: famous

<sup>1</sup> 'Bombast' meant either cotton wool or cotton cloth. Here it is equivalent to 'turbaned.'

for nobility and gentry, as also for rich trade in variety, indicoes especially, by means of a generall confluence of most nations in the world, English, Dutch, Portugals, Jewes, Armenians, Arabians, Medes and Persians, Turkes and Tartarians, *cum multis aliis*. In whose streets (through the multiplicity of people) all enforce theyr passage by theyr peones or footmen, with their speares and other weapons running before the coach or horse (like Absalom and his fifty men, 2 *Sam[uel]*, 15. 1), crying Poyce, Poyce<sup>1</sup>, give way there; who serve as well for like necessities as for state, being in number more or fewer according to the qualitie and abilitie or the pleasure of the person; which none of credit are (or dare be) without.

Here we tooke a house and settled a factory, [and] applyed ourselves to our businesse as seasons and occasions were offered. Meanewhile, for our better proceeding, we visite the Governor, Abdala Chan [see p. 26 *n.*], and present him: signifie the cause of our comming: desiring his leave and noble favour in whatsoever case of justice we might have cause to use him; for which we should be ready at all times (most noble Festus) to shew ourselves gratefull unto His Lordship. Our suit was accepted, together with our present: ourselves bid welcome, and a place appointed us where to sit; being in a spacious and princely court, in the middest of a great multitude of Chans and Beagues<sup>2</sup>, or Lords and Gentlemen, that twice a day, morning and evening, duely came to visite him. This being that (I take it) which is spoken of in Scripture, as of Job in the East and of other great men sitting in the gate, or in publike, to heare causes and do justice; everyone taking his place according to his degree, or at this great Viceroyes appoyntment, having first given him a salam or low congee; and all crosse-legged on Turkey carpets spread on the ground, curiously paved or playstered with playster of Pallas<sup>3</sup> (as likewise their walles), shining like alabaster; whereon they tread with their bare feet (as also in their churches), leaving their slip-shoes at the doore or aloofe off at the edge of the entrance

<sup>1</sup> This, Mr Moreland tells me, is the Hindi *po'ts*, with the meaning given in the text. See his quotation from Pelsaert at p. 54 of his *Jahangir's India*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Beg' (Bey in Turkey) was a Turki title ('chief' or 'lord') brought into India by the Moguls.

<sup>3</sup> Plaster of Paris. He is referring of course to the Indian *chunām*.

(like a shoemakers well furnisht shop or warehouse); all rich or brightly attyred (as I have sayd) according to the season. Himselfe, with a few of the principals, sitting somewhat apart, on a little higher ascent at his pallace doore, big enough for his corpulent body and no more; with no lesse majesty (methought), in all but that and the *capateria*<sup>1</sup> or shoemakers ware, then might well beseeme the greatest prince in the world; drums beating; souldiers guarding; noble and gentlemens servants aloofe off in troupes attending; and coaches at the court gate in thicke heapes, wayting the dissolution of this great assembly; sitting sometimes heere, sometimes removing, but ever in a place presenting both state and delight, for magnificent buildings, beautifull ponds and waterworkes, pleasant orchards, and the like. And in this honorable presence every new moone the common women of the city (in their long sloppes and short coates) present themselves by turnes, with timbrels and dances, wanton songs and antique [i.e. antic] gestures, for their sport and recreation; so continuing till the Viceroy please to dismisse them; and all this in generall, besides their particular solemnities, as I have sayd before, in the night seasons. Wherewith my story ends; and welcome, gentlemen, to a short colation, with thanks for your gentle patience in taking penance at so homely a pittance, and my well-wishings of good refreshings to you all.

## F I N I S

## ADDENDUM

It is much to be regretted that Farewell brought his lively narrative so prematurely to a close; but it is hardly surprising, for he could not tell the whole story truthfully without either making some serious admissions or running the risk of provoking his former employers, whom he was still anxious to conciliate. In the preface to his book he alludes vaguely to his untimely departure from India—to the prejudice, he asserts, of both himself and the Company—but the only explanation he gives is that it was due to a change of government (meaning the death of Aldworth and the succession of Kerridge).

The scanty records available throw little light upon the course of events. We gather that Farewell's temporary employment as Second to Aldworth came to an end in July 1615, when Kerridge, who had made over charge at Ajmer to Edwards, reached Ahmadābād and took up the position of chief

<sup>1</sup> Spanish *zapateria*, with the meaning here given.

assistant. Upon the death of Aldworth (4 October 1615) Kerridge assumed charge of the factory; and shortly afterwards, at his request, John Browne was sent up to assist him. In February 1616 Kerridge was appointed Agent at Surat and Browne Chief at Ahmadābād. Farewell remained a member of the staff at the latter factory; but he had not given satisfaction, for his accounts had proved too imperfect to be sent to England, and there is evidence that his colleagues had found him a difficult associate.

Friction soon developed between Browne and Farewell; and after a time (apparently about September 1616) a consultation was held at Ahmadābād, at which the latter was dismissed from the Company's service and his salary was stopped. Before long he proceeded to Surat; and at a consultation held there on 21 February 1617 his case was reviewed. There was evidently a desire to deal leniently with him, for he was offered reinstatement in the service, provided he would promise amendment and would agree to a transfer to Bantam. These terms he declined; and thereupon he was given a passage to England in the *Globe*.

Upon arrival he presented himself to the Court of Committees, and doubtless complained of the treatment he had received. He was told in reply that he was charged with inefficiency, pride, and mutiny, and he was reminded that he had broken his bond by returning long before the expiration of the covenanted time. The Court, however, allowed him a price for the calicoes he had brought home (in defiance of the rules against private trade), on payment of about 20*l.* for their freight. He made several applications for the payment of wages for the period after his dismissal, but without success; and a request in December 1618 for re-employment was likewise refused. Later (April 1620) Sir Thomas Roe was asked his opinion. He had no firsthand knowledge of the facts, but he was disposed to think that Farewell had been dismissed because he would not connive at the private trade of his colleagues. The Court, however, was still unsatisfied, and resolved to defer action until the return of Kerridge or Browne. Farewell made fresh applications for re-engagement in January and again in December 1625, but met with a refusal on each occasion. In 1629, and again four years later, he solicited the Company to pay him the wages alleged to be due to him and to return the money he had paid for freight, as he was in extreme poverty; but the only result was a grant of 10*l.* on each occasion from the poor-box. His next expedient was to write the little book here in great part reprinted; and this, he tells us in the preface, he wished to dedicate to the Company, 'but it pleased them not to accept thereof, for reasons to themselves best knowne.' In January and June 1634 he petitioned the Company to lend him 25*l.*; but reply was made their funds could not be used for such a purpose. And this is the last we hear of him.

It is the sad story of a man whose career was wrecked by his own defects of character. Of his honesty there was never any question, and he evidently had a considerable amount of ability. But he was obstinate and self-opinionated; he took small pains to conciliate those with whom he had to work; and he was inclined to be lazy and slack in matters of business. Downton spoke well of him (p. 180), and (according to his own account) Aldworth and he were on very friendly terms; but Browne and Kerridge found him insufferable, and the Company (as we have seen) steadily refused to employ him again. Reviewing his record, we cannot say that this attitude was unjustified.

## A NARRATIVE OF THE FIGHT AT SWALLY<sup>1</sup>

These [vessels] leaving England in March, on October the fifteenth following (1614) anchored at South Swally, not farre from Surrat; where they found the countrey in armes against the Portugals, which had a little before taken a ship of the Mogols, in which was said to bee three millions of treasure and two women bought for the Great Mogol. They also tooke a Guzzarate ship, worth one hundred thousand pounds, with seven hundred persons therin, at the barre of Surat (notwithstanding their owne passe granted them), and sent them to Goa<sup>2</sup>. The Decanims [see p. 4 n.] laid siege to Chaul, and Mocrob Chan was to doe his utmost for his master, the Mogol. The Moores on all hands sought their destruction, and they were driven to send away many hundreths of the Banyans [Hindus] out of their townes, to free themselves of unprofitable mouths; three barkes of which came to Surat, others to Cambaya.

Mocrob Chan laboured very earnestly with the Generall to ingage himsele in that warre against the Portugall; which because he could not doe (except in a defensive quarrell) by his commission, the Nabab (so they call this Mocrob Chan, then Vice-Roy or governour of the countrey about Surat; the Jesuites interprete Nabab supream judge<sup>3</sup>) was strange to the English

<sup>1</sup> From *Purchas His Pilgrimage* (1626), p. 526. It is quoted here because it contains some details not found elsewhere. This is explained by the fact that (as stated in a marginal note) it is based upon, not only the accounts given by Downton and Pring, but also certain statements (probably oral) obtained by Purchas from Benjamin Day, John Leman, William Masham, etc. Some at least of these men were on board the *Hope* at the time.

<sup>2</sup> A marginal note gives Withington as the authority for this statement. His account will be found in *Early Travels*, p. 203. Purchas, however, was mistaken in treating this as a separate capture; in both cases the reference is to the *Rahimi*.

<sup>3</sup> The Hind. *nawāb* is the Arabic plural of *Nāyab*, 'a deputy or viceroy.' The plural was used in the same sense as the singular, being in fact a mere honorific (like our royal and editorial 'We').

The Portuguese turned *nawāb* into *nababo*. The English newcomers, who used Portuguese in their intercourse with the Indians, adapted this in the form of 'nabab' or 'nabob.'

and offered the merchants some hard measure. Yea, the Jesuites which were with Mocrob Chan tooke occasion from this refusall to counterfeit a letter from the Vice-Roy [of Goa], threatning that, except they yeelded to peace, he and his friends the English would joyne against Surat; which suspition Master Aldworth (one of our merchants) furthered, ignorant of the former, but threatning that their abuses would cause the English to joyne with the Portugall. Thus ticklish were the termes on which they stood.

December the sixteenth, the Generall received a letter that the Portugals had burnt Goga<sup>1</sup>, with many villages thereabouts and ten great ships (one of which was the *Rehemee*) with one hundred and twentie small vessels. Hee read the letter of a Jesuite, in which the King of Spaine commaunded the Vice-Roy to burne Surat, if they received the English.

On December the seven and twentieth, two and twentie Portugall frigates sought to lay the *Hope* aboard, but by force of shot were put off. The Vice-Roy sent offer of friendship to Mocrob Chan, on condition that hee would turne the English out of Surat and suffer him to build a fort at Swally; otherwise threatning bloudie warre. And so on January the fourteenth came two fleets of frigates; and on the eighteenth sixe great gallions, with three lesser ships. Two gallies were yet behinde. The frigates were threescore (some adde fiftene more). This great force made Mocrob Chan to feare; whereupon hee sent a present to the Vice-Roy, with some treatie of peace; whereof the Vice-Roy made light account, thinking first to overcome us (a thing not hard, in his conceit), and then to treatie of peace on his owne termes. Much policie was used on both parts; the Nabab complementing and sending presents to the Vice-Roy and our Generall also; the Vice-Roy promising much to himselfe, but reckoning without his host; and therefore when, after the fight, hee would have concluded upon the conditions that Mocrob had offered, hee was then refused, with a scoffe that hee would not make peace with so weake an enemy, that could not prevaile against foure merchants ships.

<sup>1</sup> 'Goga is a rich towne, on the other side of the bay. Some say that there was not so much harme done' (*marginal note*).

On the twentieth of January, their three smaller ships had thought to have stemmed<sup>1</sup> the *Hope*, then riding at an anchor neere the barre of Swally, some distance from the rest. These laid her aboard on the starboard side, and one gally and five and fortie sayle of frigates on their larboord. The gallions followed as farre as the sands would permit. The admirall [i.e. the *Gift*] made to their helpe, and for the better speed cut their cable. But the enemies had already entered (with great shew of resolution). Without feare or wit (saith one of the *Hopes* men), thirtie or fortie were entered on the forecastle. But the *Gift* in this fatall moneth answered her name, and gave them for a new yeeres gift such orations (roarations yee may call them) that they were easily perswaded to leave the *Hope*, and, all hopelesse, to coole their hote blouds with leaping into the seas cold waters; where many, for want of a boat, made use of Charons. Those that were of most hope and courage held still their possession of the entered *Hope*; but with entered hopes and dispossession of their lives<sup>2</sup>. . . . The Portugals, whether themselves by casualltie or industry set fire on their ships, or that the fire which Master Mullineux (the master of the *Hope*) cast into one of them, after that, by helpe of fresh men sent in the pinace, they were got cleere of them: certaine it is that all three driving away upon the ebbe (the English had entered before and killed all they found) fell on fire and, running on the sands, there offered up themselves at once to all the elements; the sayles still standing embracing the ayre, the keele kissing her mother earth, till their more churlish brethren, the fire and water, put them out of possession and shared all betwixt them. One of the gallies lost her nose with a shot, and was content after that (with their other) to looke on. The gallions rode beyond the sands. The frigates could not but participate in their fellowes disadventure; many of them (saith Leman) were sunke and torne in pieces. Masham, another of the *Hopes* company, numbreth five and twentie thus perishing<sup>3</sup>. The *Hope* lost three men and had fourteene wounded; the *Hector* lost

<sup>1</sup> The word is here used in the now obsolete sense of 'to dash against with the stern of the vessel,' or 'to ram.'

<sup>2</sup> Purchas here indulges in a parenthesis on the invention of fire-arms.

<sup>3</sup> 'So doth another namelesse copy which I have seene' (*marginal note*).



two. One shot of stone, which the *Hope* received, was measured seven and twentie inches about. But the hurt was by fire in her tops, by one of her owne men there slain whiles he sought to fire the enemy. The Portugals losse is uncertaine. Three hundred and fiftie men were said to be carried to Daman to be buried, besides all that the sea and fire had shared betwixt them, which were thought to make up five hundred; some report of eight hundred. And yet themselves gave out not above fortie or fiftie; whereas the tide cast up at one place eighteene drowned carkasses.

After this they tried experiments. First by poyson; and this was the Jesuites Jesuitisme (I cannot call it Christianitie<sup>1</sup>), who sent to the Muccadan of Swally to entice him to poyson the water of the well whence the English fetched for their use. But the ethnike [i.e. pagan] had more honestie, and put in quicke tortoises, that it might appeare (by their death) if any venemous hand had beene there. But when *virtus et virus* wanted *vires*, *dolus* is added. And the Vice-Roy having two ships sent him for supply, two junkes, eight or ten boates, these (or the most of them) were employed, with great secrecie and subiltie, to fire our ships by night; two, full of fiery entrailes, on the ninth of February; the next night, two others chained together and towed with frigates; and after that, in the same night, foure other chained together; one of which, being fired with an English shot, burnt herselfe and her fellowes. They put fire to all the rest, which devoured them all, without harme to the English. They tooke some of these fireworkers, and one of which, being examined, confessed (after Master Prings relation) thus<sup>2</sup>: . . . So great their forces, and (blessed be God) so little their force. The Vice-Royes name was Don Jeronimo de Savecko<sup>3</sup>; sometimes Captaine of Mosambike; after that of Zeilan [Ceylon] eighteene yeeres; and now Vice-Roy; by the Kings strait command and others importunitie drawne into this action. Every day was hee braved with the English ordnance, but never adventured any

<sup>1</sup> Purchas never lost an opportunity of girding at the Jesuits.

<sup>2</sup> The details of the Portuguese ships and their armaments are omitted, as they have already been given from another source.

<sup>3</sup> 'Benj. Day. Another hath Savedo' (*marginal note*). It should be Azevedo.

other triall by fight; the English riding neere his great fleet and dispatching all their other affaires of merchandise, and mending the *Hope*, which they sent home with this newes when they departed from thence. They [the Portuguese] seemed to stay for them in the way, yet let them passe without any blowes.

This won them [the English] much glory among the countrey people; Mocrob Chan giving stately entertainment to the Generall in his tents on shoare, which one saith were a quarter of a mile about; in the midst his owne, of crimson sattin, richly embroidered with gold and pearle, and covered with cloth of gold. He had many elephants. He gave the Generall his sword, made (said hee) in his owne house, the hilts of massie gold (this is their custome, to deserving captaines); and he gave him his girdle, sword and dagger, and hangers of as faire show, but lesse worth.

## CORRESPONDENCE

*Captain Downton at Swally Road to the Company*<sup>1</sup>

20 November 1614

Right Worshipfull,

These are to give you to understand in breifest sort of our proceedinges since the seventh of March, when we departed Dover Roade. Without any touch or stay, more then contrary windes inforcte, by our best endeavours we attained to Saldania the 15th of June, where, to the great hinderance of our busines, by losse of our boates, we wore out the taill of a long storme; many of our people now appearing somewhat toucht with the disease. Refreshing of flesh we had in manner none. We had some little fish, by our continuall indeavours in the river. For Cory, soone after our comeing thither, we in hope of his better performance, and nothing doubting of his love, I lett him goe away with his rich armour and all his wealth in the companie of his freindes; but what became of him after we know not, neither could ever understand.

Haveing dispatched our watering and some time tended on the winde, we sett sail and putt to sea the 2th of July 1614, and after much contrary windes and a long passage we arrived at the bay of St. Augustin the 6th of August, where we tooke in water and wood and somewhat refreshed our people with very good beefe, soe farr as we had any sillver chaine or linkes of whistles to buy them, for otherwise we could procure very little. For a cow we paid twelve new English sixpences, which they hang about their neckes; i[f] we had not had sixpences, they would have had soe many shillings. Spanish mony they will take none. They seeme to be people well inclined and just, though I wish none to be bould therof, for one good or bad man in authoritie may sway much among the multitude.

From thence we departed the 12th day, directing our course

<sup>1</sup> O.C. 181 (India Office records). It has been printed in *Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 167.

soe neer the showldes of St. Lawrence as fittly we might. We passed alongst, leaveing the ilands of Moyella and Commora [see p. 74] on our larborde side, and the great iland of Moyetta<sup>1</sup> on our starborde side; but toucht at neither, in regarde of our hast to save the monsoane. The 9th of September at night we anchored in the road of Delisha at Zoccatra; where by the King and some Indians, which in a small shipp were there, I endeavored to informe mysealf of the state of our busines at Surat, of Captain Best his last proceedinges with the Portugalls; whose report suted to my content. We lingered some time about the alloes, which at a deer rate we bought at 30 ri[als] per kintall, which is 96 li. [i.e. lb.]. And the 14th day we set saill towards Surrat.

The 23th day the wind tooke us short, being 168 leagues short of the coast of India. The 2th of October we had sight of land soe far to leewardes as Dabull, and against the wind we turned up and arrived in Swally roade the 15th day, and, to my great comfort, not haveing above four sick men in the whole fleet. We finde by report Chaull and Bassaim slightly beseegeed by the Decans, and Damon and Diu by the Magores forces, and Muccrabchaun, our arch enimie, gennerall of the forces against Damon. Great report was of his gladnes of our being comde, but we finde for noe other cause but to serve his owne turne, thinking to have had us at command to have battered the castle of Damon with our shippes (which would have bin his honour), wherein the Portugalls are contained; which busines and attempt my commission barred me. Then he would have had me under my hand to keep the Portugalls forces out of the river of Surat; which I could nether grant, for that there was roome for frigates and gallies divers ways to passe in, where wanted water for my shippes to ride to stopp them; neither had I warrant to begin warrs with the Portugalls unles they first gave me cause.

Many days have we spent in frivolus debateing of our busines, long doubting whether we might resolve to stay, land our goodes, and doe our busines heer, or seeke some other place where we might have more hopes in the governours, who are all greedy of presentes. At length it seemed to us that there was noe doubt of danger in landing of our goodes, but onely that hee had crost us

<sup>1</sup> Mayotta, another of the Comoro group of islands.

for not having his will, both in the use of our shippes and appointment of men for the buying of all our goodes to his owne use and benefitt, unfitt for us to grant; in which time the people were often restrained their boates and carriages to transport us; soe that, when our marchantes were sent to the towne, we could not in long time get them againe, nor well hear from them; not that they weare much ill intreated, butt all boates restrained to carrie them backe over the river. He soe much presumeth on the Kinges favour that hee doth what he list. We have hope, when Master Edwardes shall come to the court, by his good endeavours with the King to help much. He is now setting forwardes for Agra, and others with mony towards Amadavar to buy commodities for returne home. I pray God blesse their jurny and endeavours.

At my first speakeing with Master Aldworth, who through his desire of the good of the Company, which in my conceit (upon new acquaintance) he is very zealous of, he informed me that in Persia may yearly be vented a good quantitie of cloathes and kersays, soe the cullours be good, and died in the wooll; and that there may be silke returned at reasonable rates, soe as place may be fownd for to containe shippes within the King of Persia his dominions, which is neer unto Ormus, where may arrise some opposition by the Portugalls when they grow to strength, though now they seeme but weake, and if the Indian princes doe excersise their owne strength they wilbe every day weaker; yet it is like by reason of their many occasions the next year there will goe some good forces out of Portugall, from whence the report is there hath comde noe shippes to India theise two yeers, by which they are much at present disabled; yet there is still a report that the Viceroy will come for Surrat with all the forces he can make; which I thinke cannot stand with good discession, in regard they are soe many wayes besett. Though I purpose to seem noe more secure<sup>1</sup> then if they were to come tomorrow; for I more think of their wily stratagems by fier and otherwise then of their force, which I thinke cannot be much. True intelligence what it is I have none.

It seemeth to me the ill sales of cloath in India put Master

<sup>1</sup> Confident, and therefore careless. It was in his 'secure hour' that Hamlet's father was murdered.

Aldworth into an extraordinary desire by inquisition to seeke out a better place, in regard of them [*sic*] cloaths yet remaineing on their handes, as for such as he feared were to come by the next shipping, and the next after that, before advice can be sent home to forbear. By his industry he learned of a port some 40 leagues without Ormus, called Jasques<sup>1</sup>. Moreover there came one Richard Steell, borne in Bristoll, whoe had lived some time in Turkey and afterwarde spent some time in Persia; who, by an occasion of busines with John Middnall<sup>2</sup> in the behalf of Master Morris Abbott, Master Robert Offly and Master Leat and others of the Committies, was alsoe drawn unto Agra, where he caused the goodes of the said Midnall to be seazed on, craving aid of Master Thomas Aldworth from Surrat, who sent Tho[mas] Kerredg to Agra about the same; himsealf forced to flie to avoyd the practises of Midnall and his confederates for his destruction, wherof it seemeth Richard Steell had a tast by woundes received in his jurny toward Surratt; where being arrived he confirmed Master Aldworths former intelligence concerning the use of English cloath in Persia, by reasone of the cowld there in the winter time; as also makeing a hopefull reporte of silke at casie rates to be returned from thence. The conceit of which grew to such strength in Master Aldworth, together with the good carriage and discreet behaviour of the said Steell, that he invited him by perswasion and kinde usage to stay with him untill the coming of the next shippes, not without giving him some hope of fitt employment.

Amongst oursealves we have had divers conferences concerning that busines and thoughte the charge seemeth great in performance of the same, yet I wish not to let slipp the least hope tending to the future good of my imployers and cuntry. We once thought of sending Richard Steell, and Master Munday with him, by land, to serch and sownd the place of Jasques, how fitt it may be in safetie to containe shippes; but upon better advisement we altered that determination, in regard it is not passable by land, by reason of great nombers of outlaws and discontented

<sup>1</sup> Jask (Jashk), near the entrance to the Straits of Hormuz, about 40 leagues N.N.W. of Muskat.

<sup>2</sup> For Mildenhall see *Early Travels*, p. 48.

people, which permitt none in safety to passe, as alsoe for that this busines could not be effected without licence from the Persian Emperour, which would aske long time and great charge to performe. Since when, by great meanes made, I have attained to the conference with a Guzerat pilot, who informes me that Jasques is neither bay nor indraft<sup>1</sup>, but a town standing upon the Persian shore some 30 [*sic*] leagues without Ormus, and is a streight coast where a shipp may ride in 8 fethome within sacker<sup>2</sup> shott of the shore, or neerer if they will to 6 fethom; where he saith is good rideing for the most part from September to the end of February, with reasonable wether and wind at north, which bloweth trade<sup>3</sup> alongst the coast. Upon which information I esteemed it needles to spend long time and wast of charge by sending a seaman to sownd the place, where I perceive is noe danger or difculty and a discreet marriner will not misse much of the length of the place. If he cannot formerly gett a pilot, he must help himself by a linguist by the Arab or Persian tongue. Soe that now we purpose to send Master Steell and another marchant by land into Persia, with a letter to Sir Robert Sherly, intreating his help to move the King for his allowance and licence for our peaceable and quiet tradeing within his dominions; which Richard Steell thinketh it will please him well to grant; which being obtained, by all fitt endeavours to informe themsealves like marchantes in every respect of the state of the busines. Then from thence Master Steell to hasten for England, there to acquaint the Governour and Asistantes of the Indian Company what is heerin done; and if God give him health, I make noe doubt but he will give you a good accompt of his proceedinges; and the marchant to returne to Surat, there to make known the like. For Sinde, to travell by land, by reasone of discontented people as aforesaid, we are wholly discouraged; but I make noe doubt but that you are well informed of that place by Cap-tain Newport<sup>4</sup>. For the cuntry neer Sinde, we cannot under-

<sup>1</sup> Inlet, or inward passage.

<sup>2</sup> The saker was a small cannon, throwing a 6 lb. ball.

<sup>3</sup> Constantly in one direction. The 'trade' of 'trade winds' has nothing to do with commerce, but is derived from the expression here used.

<sup>4</sup> Downton had been instructed to inquire into the possibilities of trade 'in the river of Sinda' (the Indus). Some notes on the subject, obtained in

stand of any hope for us there, but onely by that fair river, wherby we may transport our goodes to and from that goodly cittie and cuntry neer Lahor. I wish by any meanes we may finde it fitt for our use; for whille Muccrabchan hath authoritie at Surat, we shalbe ever crost. Besides the carriag to and fro from thence into the cuntry is chargeable, and customes at divers places, which I doubt by his meanes will not be abated; which, if we can with our shippes come to Sinde, the river wilbe our good freind for transportation.

Besides, Muccrabchaun hath sent to Messalapatan for the Hollanders to come hither, promiseing them Damon when it is taken from the Portugalls; but [it] is like they wilbe heer er long, for they had a factory heer before we knew the place, and they have still a stocke remaineing heer in the Shabenders handes ever since all their factors heer died<sup>1</sup>.

You sent now divers cloathes which you have bin warned of, and it is in vaine to shew them heer, nor any where else in these partes, for ought I know; which are all your musk cullours and sand cullours, and all other inclineing to sadnes. The most in request are in disgrace by reasone of the deceitfull cullours.

We are soe long delayed heer, and for feare of the Portugalls I dare not leave the shipp that should be sent home alone; which I doubt will bring us a long voyage, and she wilbe soe long a ladeing that I doubt her falling on our coast in an unseasonable time.

In this fleet we brought neither weightes nor scalles to weigh half a hunderethweight. I know not what shift to make heer nor in any other place till we come to Bantam. All our streight swordes will not one of them sell heer.

I desire pardon for that I can make but a weake accompt of our busines yet done heer, for that we have scarce made a begining; therefore must referr you to the report of Master Edwardes from Agra after his speech with the King, being at present bownd thither. Wherefore, wishing a happy successe to this and all other

November 1614 from a native skipper, formed O.C. 182, which is not now extant (see *Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 172).

<sup>1</sup> See *Roe*, p. xxix.



your adventures, I remember my humble service to Your Worship, Master Deputie, and all the Committies. I rest

Your Worshippes firmly affectionatted

NICH. DOWNTON

If it please God to send Richard Steell well home, and that he give you a good accompt of his imployment (as I make noe doubt but hee will), then I desire Your Worshippes to use him kindly.

*Captain Downton at Swally Road to  
Sir Thomas Smythe<sup>1</sup>*

20 November 1614

Honourable Sir,

Yf it be conceited that covetousnes drew me againe into this troublesome, pineing, and weary busines, I answer noe; but the conceit I had of your love, with the love of divers others which I esteemed by your meanes, drew me (though my body unrecovered) with greedy desire to frame my minde to your wills, neclecting my owne endes, applieing my sealf wholly to yours; rather wishing you should finde my zeall to you by prooffe then by bragging promises; which affection might be perceived in that (notwithstanding your small gratuitie<sup>2</sup>, in regard of my expence the former voyadg, imputeing it to none of the worthiest, but most inconsiderate sorte) I did of purpose (to shew how much I was yours) committ my monthly sallery to be set downe at your owne pleasure, at such a rate for which, but to shew my love and to hold my worde, I would not then have bin soe hired; nothing doubting that my tractable and easy yeelding would have incurred your more base conceit of me, whoe without offence to my freindes dare say that in comonwealth busines my desertes hath not bin inferior to any mans which in this kinde you have formerly employed; neither doubted I that the Kinges commis-

<sup>1</sup> O.C. 184. Printed in *Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 174. It is a copy, made by Downton himself.

<sup>2</sup> The amount of the gratuity to be given to Downton for his service in the Sixth Voyage was left to Smythe's discretion (*Supplementary Calendar*, p. 38). We have no information as to the figure he fixed.

sion should have bin otherwise then Sir Henry Middletons was, for while I live I would not therein have bin partner with any, which being soe unfittly yoaked hath brought me much disturbance. I have a place in shew, but by your commission<sup>1</sup> I have not power to determin of any materiall thinges but by the counsell of such as may partake [i.e. take part] or band against me; which, if it were well for you, there would be lesse dislike in me. I doe not move this in hope of remedy from you, but as a caveat for the future good of your busines, and quiet of such as you may heerafter in principall place employ. The shareing of the authoritie of a commaunder among divers doth much increase pride, cause devisions, and greatly hinder the comon busines. Many are ready to tax a commaunder with weakenes, when it is their owne deedes at home in clipping the winges of his authoritie, in raising great spirites and green heades to partake in government. If my haste and often provoaked occasions were not quallified by a consionable care of the comon good, I could quickly fall into rigorous courses, therby to stay the insulting carriage of the prowdest; but then I must expect to follow the breakneck of fitt government in the generalitie, for theise unsteady minded and giddy headed people, if they once perceive devisions amongst the principalls, wherby authoritie is weakened, will soone run into sides or factions as their humors lead them; or else, if trusting to their own strength, will not care for either. I have not failed, by all upright meanes possible, in hope to stope the mouthes of all ill willers to this jurney, and, to remove the skandall laid upon former voyadges, soe caried the busines that I make least doubt of the love of the comon people; yet soe little trust thereto that I have always thought most discession by patience to passe over the thinges which often greived me. Though I expect this voyage will fully weare me out, yet my love to governement is such, and to farren jurneys which most needeth the same, wherby I wish to deliver my poor opinion, referring the determination to your better understanding and judgment; which is that in theise jurneys you let the governements rest principally upon one man, whose discession and honestie you have assurance of; by which he may doe most right to you, right

<sup>1</sup> See *Supplementary Calendar*, pp. 39, 40.

to himself, and to all weldeserving men, who by their honest behaviour and discreet carriage deserve the same; by which meanes they wilbe drawn to your best service, being tractable to the content of their commaunder; which will also restraine pride, stopp combineing into factions and other careles necligences, wherof all are not free, and make them strive by industry and dilligence to deserve well, and to be lett know that their employment shalbe acording to their desert, by the judgment of their commaunder, though in privat you may ordaine otherwise; for when they bring all their grace from home and know how they are appointed in the commission, knowing that it shall not be altered, [they] grow necligent and carles of any commaund.

It wilbe good that such factors as you imploy that divers of them may write well; which good property is wanting among most of them you now employed. And as your factors have bin fed at full [and] cannot indure soe streight a diet as the poore seamen must, and alsoe, if they should have more allowance out of the hould then the rest, it will [cause] much greif and dislike in the comon people, who are kept in best order seeing provisions justly devided; wherfore it may please you to give your factors some allowance for privat provissions.

Henry Smith and Roger Prowd have continued all this voyadge in health, and are now bownd up to Agra with Master Edwardes; soe alsoe is Master Rogers. I would have had them stay at Surat with Master Dodsworth till their bodies were seasoned with the air and with the feeding of the cuntry; but they desired it, and Master Edwardes threatned to have them thither when I was gon; which then I thought better they should goe now then at any other time in lesse company, when lesse care might be had on them; and Will[iam] Nelson goeth up therfore to attend on them.

We have bin long pestered heer with delays and unkinde crosses by Muccrabchaun, but I hope that Master Edwardes will soe behave himself with the King by presentes that for future times he may alter it; but for present I pray God send us a good dispatch.

I fear it will be long er we shall have meanes to dispatch a shipp homeward, and soe shee will fall upon our coast in an

unseasonable time. We finde not above 3000 *li.* stock remaineing of the Tenth Voyadge, and much of that is about Agra, soe that thereby we know not the certaintie therof.

Presentes heer will goe deep and charges in transport[at]ion wilbe great. In many particulers Master Edwardes may better informe you from Agra then I can heer, since we have scarce yet made a begining to our busines.

Soe with my most respective and good wishes, and my earnest prayers directed to heaven for the continuaunce of your health and safetye, I rest

Yours in all humillity,

[NICH. DOWNTON]

*William Edwards at Ahmadābād to the Company*<sup>1</sup>

20 December 1614

...The 15th ditto [October] wee arived at South Swally, or neere, wher wee now ryde. The next day Master Aldworth came aboard our Generall; whoe gave great incurradgement for our wellcome and trayd in theise parts. Although since our comeing heather, through the inbycillity and weak judgment of Moccrobchan, Viseroy of Suratt, whose disposition savours more of child then man, beeing very vaine and toyish in all his proceedings, wee have had many delayes in the discharge of our goods, unto our great losse of tyme; yet the generall incuradgment wee have by the toun, of all the better sort of people, and apairancie of fear in the Viceroy that our uncurtious entertainment should come to the eares of the Mogore, gives great hope of better in this place heerafter. The principall pretence of his delaying us consisted of theise two demaunds: first, that wee would goe with our shippes and ryde at the rivers mouth of Suratt, and fight with the Portingales, if they should come theither; the next, that our Generall would give under his hand

<sup>1</sup> This is the original letter (O.C. 177). The first part was obviously written before leaving Surat. The account of the outward voyage, some passages relating to Steel and the Persia venture, etc., have been here omitted, as adding nothing material to what has been given already; but the whole letter may be read in *Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 148.

to defend the citty of Surratt, yf the Portingale should seeke to invaid the same. Both which our Generall refused, as beeing forbidden by our kings comition. And in theise and suchlike much tyme was spent; but in fine, seeing he could not inforce what hee intended, he gave us free leave to land our goods and proceed in our trayd. . . .

On the 8th November wee put ashoar 100 broadclothes and 12 chests of royales, with the two chests of looking glasses. But in customeing the same wee have had much toyle, by reason of the forsaid inconstant condition of Muccrobchan; his carriage and entertainment in our affaires beeing very base and vilde; wherof the people of the cuntry speake much, desireing some opertunity to remooove him out of these parts, wherof they have good hope.

Divers places on this coast is beseegeed by the Mogore, vizt. Chaule, Damon, [and] Bassine. The governor of Suratt under Moccrobchan, whose name is Hoginozan, is gone to Damone with an army to supply the seedge there, and others. Great meanes is mad[e] by the Portingales for a reconciliation, offering restitution of the aforesaid shipp and goods; but no acceptance will be had. The Mogore his answer is hee will have all his cuntry under his owne subjection, and wilbe no more subject to them as heertofore. The Portingales are suffered to remaine heer or elsewhere within the commaund of the Mogore, except two Jesuits, whoe are heere imprisoned.

The Portingales (by the report of Master Aldworth and others), upon the takeing of the forsaid shipp, offered to restore the same, yf the Mogore would deliver the English that were heere into their hands; which the Mogore refused to doe.

Upon our comeing ashoar heere, wee have particularly run with Master Aldworth into the state of this cuntry, for the divers comodities fitt to be reladen for England; and understand by him that great plenty of all such sorts are heere to be had. But computing the charge of reladeing, wee find our stock to be very short for the ladeing of one of your shippes with such comodities as you desire and are heere to be had. Wherefore wee shalbe constrained to lade some store of cotton yearne, more then else we should have donn. The particulers of goods to be reladen by our consultation will heerin apeere.

December 20th, in Amadavar

Since the wrighting of the above, wee have bine by the afor-said Mocrobchan delayed in the toune of Suratt very long, and (as wee suspect) through some vile designes of his, which [it] is thought, being discovered to the Mogore, will hazard the losse of his head, for that he hath many great enimyees neere the King, with whome some responsency must be heald in that poynt; for so long as he doeth remaine governour in Suratt, wee are not like to have any faire entertainment in our trayd. Hee, beeing a great freind to the Portingale, worketh underhand to bring them in againe; which the King will by no meanes hear of.

Wee came into Suratt the 8th November and weare detain'd till the 30th ditto, not beeing permitted either to proceed to the court with the Kings presents or to returne to our shippes. And one principall cause was that he might not have a sight of the Kings presents, wherof Master Aldworth hadd written to the court, and that they were sent by such a man as would not shew them to any untill they came before the King; which he saith he would take in very good parte, for he is very toyish and desirous of novelltyes, and esteemes not of things of this kynd wherof himselfe hath not the first sight. Yet the said Mocrobchan hath forceably seene them and written therof to the King; which thing, beeing seconded by the discontents wee have receaved from him since our comcing ashoare, will worke him much disgrace with the King; which beeing soe, will give a great furtherance to our proceedings in all these parts. The presents havcing bine seene of Mocrobchan, and knowne of the King what they are, they must of necessity be delivered all at once, or within some few dayes resspet [i.e. respite] alowed by the King, for his condition in these things will admitt no delays.

Since our arivall in this place and proceeding in our employments, wee find indicoe to be at such reasonable rates, and our quicksilver, lead, elophants teeth and vermilion to give such reasonable proffitt, beyond our computation in our consultations for reladeing, that I hope wee shalbe able to relade the *Hector* and *Sallomone* (or at the least the *Hector*); the certainty wherof

I cannot advize, for that I am presently to sett forward for Adgimeare, where the Kings coorte is kept. . . .

If sufficient indicoe be heare to be bought (as I hope there will), then it is resolved to lade fiew callicoos or other comodities; for that the indicoe of Cirques, which usually hath bine sould at 18 roopees the maunde, is now bought for 12 roopies (little more or lesse); which I suppose wilbe more profitable then any other comoditye that can be laden from these parts.

Things best for presents, generally with all the people of these cuntries, are novelties and things of litle worth, and are esteemed for there raritie and not for their value. Wherefore, if it please you to send by your next shippes, for the Mogore, an English coach and coachman (to bring their horses to that labour), it would be very acceptable with the King. And to send some curld water spanniell of the gretest size, with a bloodhound or two, they would be very wellcome; for they [i.e. the Indians] will hardly be perswaded that they can be taught to fetch, or find things lost. The masties [i.e. mastiffs] that came along in these shippes are all dead except one; wherof wee are very chary, for that I understand it wilbe very exceptable with the King.

All the smale comodities which weare sent in these shippes, as looking glasses, combcases, knives, pictures, fouling peeces, Muscovy hides, and suchlike, serve only for presents, but will not sell at any price. Pewter is heare worth 8*d.* the pound, and copper to be bought is worth 10*d.* per pound. And raw Persian silke not to be had in these parts, nor are at any tyme, for it is heere worth as much as in England. Gome lack is not now to be had; but, beeing bespoken at som reasonable warning, may be had some reasonable quantity.

Wee have brought along with us from Suratt to this place 36,000 royalls of eight, though with some charge and hazard, by reason of the multiplicity of robbers in great troupes; yet unto good proffitt, for it gives tenn picas upon every royall avanto [i.e. advance] above the vallue at Suratt; the plaine crosse bceing worth two roopies and 10 pices, but the new crosse is five pices lesse; and abatance in boeth for what they lack of weight (for they waygh all).

The rest [i.e. remains] of the former Voyadge in these parts, under the charge of Master Thomas Aldworth, wilbe about

3,000*l.* sterling, as Master Aldworth sayeth. The accompts are not yett agreed, nor could well be, for the daylie trouble and imployment given us by Mocrobchan; but the rest goeth along in these shippes, imployed in indicoe and w[hi]t bafftas.

In your succeeding trayd in these parts it will require that a reasonable stock be left heere for the daly buying of indicoe, which are to be had at all tymes of the yeare in the hands of the cuntry people; wherby much good may be donn, for that divers of the cuntry people are constrayned to sell to ingrocers at very low prizes, for want of monyes to supply the needfulls. And this beeing the cheife place for Cerques indicoe, a factour would be settled heere. . . .

Wheras I understand that Master Aldworth, in his advice for England, hath incoradged the sending of 1000 broadcloths for this place by the first, I wish that either his letter may have miscaried or that you shall have sospelnded, upon further reasons then his litle tyme could then areme [*i.e.* arm] for such advice; for more experience hath since shewd him the error (which any man might easilye have runn into, the reasons truly considered), for one quarter of that quantity is more then all these parts will vent; for litle use is heere made therof, except covering of sadles. So as if you shall have sent by this next fleete according to the forsaid advice, they must of necessity remaine heere untill your further order.

For the ryver of Cynda [*see p. 164 n.*] I have informed myselfe what is needfull, and understand that no vent for cloth is to be expected theare, nor hope of returnes worthy the sending thether.

Wheras it pleased our worthy Governor, his Deputy, and [the] Comytties, in their comition, to deliver their opinions whome they thought fitt of their servants factours for residence at Agra or the court of the Great Mogore, if of necessity there must be one residing there, the counsaile of merchants apoynted for determining the same, respecting the said comition, have proceeded in their choise accordingly and apoynted me unto the same imployment, as in our consultation (with the circomstances) will apeere. And I, like an unskillfull pylott in the wayfaring [*i.e.* wavering] mistories of this courts conditions, have bin glad to imbrace the direction of better experience. And heerin (as in whatsoever else) I desire to be ingaged unto Your Worships



temperate sensures [i.e. judgments] in case of calumnye or misreports, which are incedent unto foraigne imployments.

The Portingales, it seemes, beeing weary of their warrs with the Mogore, use their best dilligence to reconcile the difference, boeth by sinister and violent meanes; first, closeing [i.e. uniting] with the Bannianes of Cambaia, whoe before our comeing offered, in the behalfe of the Portingale, to make restitution of whatsoever was taken in the forsaid shipp of the Mogores; but the King would by no meanes heare therof, forwarning all men any more to sollicit that cause. The next meanes, the Portingale Fathers have writt for Spayne for toleration unto the English for trayd. And lastly, their friggotts run to and froe upon the coast, burning and destroying all they cann, and lat[e]ly they have prevailed upon parte of Baroch and burnt dyvers of the houses in the subburbes, and divers shippes and boates theare, and left it. They have also burnt the greatest parte of Goga, with three of their shippes ryding at ancor, with dyvers petty places on the coast. All which the King is very impatient for, and fortifies in all parts on the sea coast.

Three gallions are lat[e]ly arived at Goa, about the 20th of October last; whoe upon their arrivall (as wee are advized) maid way to come to our shippes; but wee have litle feare of them that they wilbe seene of our shippes, for their last conflict is not yet forgotten, but is very famous in all these parts.

Our good freind Master Nicholas Ensworth deceased the [blank]; and the same day dyed Tymothy Wood, boeth of the bloody flux. Dyvers others of our frinds heere have bine tutcht; but (praysed be God) wee are all at present in good health.

My stay in this citty hath bin somewhat the longer, to put and see some forwardnes in our buisnes of indicoes, wherof wee have bought unto this tyme about 500 chorles; and I doubt not that the *Hector* and *Sollomon* will returne from hence laden for England; wheather God send them in *salvo*.

So with my humble service I comend you to Gods protection, whoe direct all your actions.

Your Worships in all humble service,

WILLIAM EDWARDS

[Endorsed as received 2 Dec. 1615]

*Edward Dodsworth at Ahmadābād to the Company*<sup>1</sup>

30 December 1614

Right Worshipful and Worshipful,

My service remembred, &c. My last from Saldania I doubt not but you have received; which although importinge but onely of our salfe arivall there, with the state of our people, yet doubt I not of your frendlie acceptance thireof, which is as much as I desire; and now, Righte Worshipful, haveinge such an opportunitye as by this bearer, Master Richard Stell, whoe is determined of by our Generall and reste of that Councell (apointed by Your Worships) to retorne for England by the waye of Persia for the discovry of that traide, I thoughte yt the leaste parte of my dewtye to acquainte Your Worship with the rest of our proceedinges.

May it thirefore please you that after our departure from the Cape we ar[r]ived at St. Lawrence in the Baye Augustine by the sixte of August, where, after 7 daies stayeing, for some smale cheenes of silver to the vallew of 13s. sterling, we boughte to the number of 20 beestes, to the greate reffreshinge of our people. From hence we departed the 12 dicto; and haveinge a prosperous passadge and noe hindrance with corrants (for that we held our course on the easter side of John de Nova, and not on the wester as with Captaine Saris, which was a greate helpe unto us, rather findinge helps then hindrances of the tydes, with faire showldinges), we arived at Socotora by the 9th of September, in the roade of Delishaw, where we were kindlye intertayned by the Kinge and acquainted by him of the state of our Englishe at Suratt; likewise that the Moores and Portingalls were at warrs each with other, and had soe contynued ever since thire intertaining of Master Aldworthe, the Portingalls haveinge taken one of thire shipps which came from the Redd Sea, worth in redie monie 130,000 pounds.

After the buyinge of some smale quantitye of aloes, we departed Socatora the 13th of September and arived at the Barr of Surratt by the twelvth [*sic*] of October in healthe and salftie,

<sup>1</sup> O.C. 222. Printed in *Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 250.

God be prayed; where we onlie found Master Thomas Aldworthe, William Bedolfe and John Younge, Master Aldworths sarvaunt; Master Caninge beinge departed this life in Januarie 1612 [1613], in whose steade Master Thomas Kerridge was sent to remaine at Agra. But neither of them respected by the Mogore, for that by thire reporte his greatnes cannot discend to affect the title of marchaunt. Consultations beinge had for the setleing of our bussines, accordinge to Your Worships order in your comissione, it was thought fittinge that Master William Edwardes should proseed to remaine at Agra, for that of nessesitie thire must be one, and Master Thomas Aldworthe to remaine at Suratt, in regard of his acquaintance and experience thire.

And not haveinge anie cause to distruste of these people we proseded for the landinge of our goodes, desireinge of Mocrob Chane (whoe is Vyseroye apoint[ed] for those partes) leave for free passage thireof. But he, except we would with our shippes assist them againste the Portingalls, maid us absolute deniall, wishinge us to departe the cuntrye; whereupon Master Aldworthe, mutch discontented in regard that through his incoradgment we were moste of us come ashore, begune to make saile of the goodes rema[i]ninge; which the Governor perseaveing and that he coule not drawe us to his desire, but that we were resolved to depart, permitted us to land our goodes; yett with the ruffleinge of all our comodites to furnishe himself with what he pleased, as allsoe with other delayes, insoemutch that it was the first of December before we departed Suratt towardes Amadavar to accomlishe laydeinge for the *Sallomon* (accordinge to our determinations aboard) and the 13 before our comeinge [to] Amadav[ar]. Soe that our tyme is shorte to acomplishe such a bussines; yet doubte not but to effect it, for that here is resonable store of Cirques indicoe, suffic[ient] for the laideinge of all our foure shippes, if our stock were more.

For the prices and hopes of this traide, in regard this bearer is to pass through soe manie daingerous cuntryes, and beinge uncertaine to whose handes this letter maie come, I cease to write, porposinge to certifie Your Worships more at large by the shipp that retqrnes from hence.

This bearer, Master Steel, throughe the good incor[age]ment



JAHĀNGĪR

received from Master Aldwo[r]th for obtainynge a traide in Persia, whoe haith ever since his understand[ing] of the comodiousnes of that traide (both for the vendinge of our Englishe as allsoe of the good reto[rnes] to be maide from thence to England) bene deli[gent] in searchinge howe the same m[i]ghte be accomlis[hed], and understandinge by sufficient pilates of a conve[nient] place for ships of 1000 tonns to ride and ankor at, which is within 30 leages of Armous, called Jasque[s], and againe confirmed by this bearer throughe his experience in his travells through those countries, inboldned us to intertaine him for the discoverie thorowlie of that trayd, to obtaine, if possible he cann, the Kinges letters for our free traid and comerce within his dominions, and he to advertice Your Worships thirof in England.

We have likewise as an [as]sistant joyned Master John Crowther (one of our marchantes) with him in this bussines, to proseed with him to Hisphaon, and from thence to retorne to Suratt for to advise us of what vent thire wilbe for our clothe, in regard we doubte of some quantitey to be sent in the next shippes for these partes, which to be kept here wilbe mutch prejudiciall to it, for that this place will not vent (by Master Aldworths experience) 100 clothes in a yeere. They are furnished with 160 *li.* for thire journey, with letters of recomendations to Sir Roberte Sherly for his assistaunce in this bussines, which God grant [*blank*] be His will, a blessinge unto.

Master Ensworthe and Master Wood departed this life shor[tly] after thire comeinge ashoare; whoe had bene vissited with the flux, which is incident to our Englishe in this place. Of Master Ensworth, whoe was to remaine here with us at Suratt, we shall have a want; both in respect of his discesione and stayed caridge, as allsoe of his suffitiencye.

Further at present, for the daingers this be[a]rer is to passe, I have not to inlarge, but purpose by the ships to acquaint you with our proseedinges in particuler. And thus with the remembrance of my dewtie I comitt you with your whole prosedings to Gods mercifull protection and rest ever at Your Worships service,

EDWARD DODSWORTH

[ ] at *Swally* to [ ]<sup>1</sup>

27 February 1615

...The 18th of Januarye they [i.e. the English ships] espied a great fleet of Portingalles coming towards them. The 19th they came to ancker againste the Barre of Surrate; being in number sixe great galliones, three shippes (the least of 150 tunne), twoe gallies, and sixtye frigottes. All these were for warr, besides some other which they had for carr[y]nge of provisions. In this fleete was the Visroye of Indie, with all the forse he could make in the Indies; his galliones, shippes, and frigottes beinge well provided of ordinance, powder, and shote, and havinge at leaste 7000 men in them.

The 20th daye, one of our shippes (beinge the *Hope*) ridinge some two cabelles lenck [i.e. length] ahead of our other shippes (being all at ancker), their came up to hur the three shippes of the Portingalles, with many frigotes, and layde hur all aboorde at once with great resolution; the reste of [the] Portingall fleete shootinge many great shotte amongst our fleet, which were not unrepayd. Our General, seing the *Hope* so harde layd to, presently [i.e. immediately] cut cabell in hauze and fell downe to the *Hope* and came to ancker close by the *Hope* and Portingalls, and gave them a brodeside. Beinge discouriged, the Portingalles begane to forsake the *Hope* and their owne shippes, and to leape overborde, betaking themselves to their frigottes to gett awaye; but they could not make suche haste but manye of them payd dearly for their rashe attempte. The three shippes were presently taken by our men, fired, and burnte downe to the water, and many of their frigottes sunck. The reste of the fleete of the Portingalles, being discouriged with this ill successe of theirs, presently fell of and came to ancker againe. The tide being well spent and night beinge com, forsed our Generall that he could doo no more that night; but the next daye he would have gone out to them, had not a mischance in the fight come to the *Hopes*

<sup>1</sup> *Marine Records* (India Office), no. XXI, p. 25. It is the draft (unfinished) of a letter from the unknown writer of that log to some friend or patron in London.

formaste by fire; which was in the tope, the man which was their beinge kilde, his mache fell amongst the powder and wildfier; which burnt hur maste. In all this fight (thankes be to God) we loste but fower men; and the Portingalles loste at leaste 4 or 500 men, wherof 16 wer men of great note.

After this the Portingalles laye still within canon shoote of us till the [blank]th of Februarye; makeinge showe many times as if he [sic] would have come againe to us, but never did; only plotted by fierworkes to have burnt some of our shippes. For upon the [blank]th at night he sent two botes laden only with powder and wildefier and other suchlike thinges; the which botes were towed by the frigotes close by our shippes and then sent adrifte with the tide; but (thankes be to God) they were espied in time and our shippes cleared of them without any harme. . . .

*Captain Downton at Swally to Sir Thomas Smythe*<sup>1</sup>

28 February 1615

Hon. Sir,

Tyme permits mee not in any fit sortte by writtinge to expresse my service and duty to you, for till this instanntte the Viceroy hath soe beleagerd mee, and by dayly expectation of new attempttes hath both implied<sup>2</sup> my powers and soe deprived mee of knowinge what to writte, least I mightte have occasion to unwritte what in former conceitte I mightte have written; but blessed bee the Lord my God, who hath not withholden His accustomed mercies in maintayninge the weake estate of His poore distressed servauntte. Sir, I diversly sencibly see that, had not God foughtte for us and taken our cause on Himselfe to defend, wee had binne sore opprest. Sir, I (longe before) foreseeinge the likelihood of use to bee made of them, forbore noe charges (as you will find) to keep my people in heartty strength against the tyme of most need; yet had itt pleased God to have shewed a frowninge countenaunce to us in our action, I knowe not but am in doubtte howe my people would have proved. In

<sup>1</sup> O.C. 256. This is a copy only (in Downton's hand). Printed in *Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 26

<sup>2</sup> In the now obsolete sense of 'employed.'

the prosperous busines wee had I see them willinge, but not knowinge whatt to doe. I acknowledge your care in preparinge ordinannce, powder and shotte, but noe way like your choice of people to use them; which I wish you maye better provide for tyme ensewinge. Many thinges more are fitt to bee reformed, which I touch in my generall letter. Sir, for Master Edwardes I never see cause to like neither his cariage nor his husbandry, yett I conceitted his pride to bee such as to spurre him on to worcke much att court, and that was the best construction that I could make when I consented to his goinge thither; but since his unfitte and emperious cariage to his companions and his pledding [pleading<sup>?</sup>] for greatt and vainglorious expence puts mee into an extraordinary doubtte. I pray God it proove better. Master Dodsworth canne ynforme you more att large, and partly you may perceave by whatt I tax him withall in my last letter to him at my cominge away; which I send you heerwith, bearinge datte the first of March, as also the copy of the violentte course hee held with his companions att Suratte. Master Ensworth it pleased God soone after wee came into this country to call him to His mercy; his cariage shewed him to bee a choice honest man, understandinge well his trade, without pride or pratinge. Timothy Wood died the same hower. John Crowther is gone with Richard Steell into Persia. Christopher Farwell I am faine to leave with Master Aldworth as a stay to governe the howse whille he is absentte, for hee is very honest, relligious, and of good cariage; otherwise I was loath to have spared him from our other busines, for such are everywhere wantinge. I have and allwayes have had greatte contentte in Master Elkington; hee understandes his busines well, is very sober and without pride. Master Dodsworth I made choice of to send in this shippe with Master Mullinux, hopinge hee will by his discretion bee a good stay unto him; also for that hee could best give you a reason for anythinge you desire to bee ynformed of concerninge your busines in these partts; moreover for that I see him not to joy nor bee in contentte since the death of Henry Smith. I made choice of the *Hope* to send home, partly for that I esteemed her the fittest to containe that quantittye of goodes wee had to send (wherein wee are somewhatt deceived), but also for the divers



defects which the master and carpenter found in her, as in daunger to bee eaten throwe, for that her sternepost is said to bee unsheathed, as also the daunger likely by the quantitty of quicksilver spiltte in her, and partly for that she goeth ill. I am not a little sorry for that it was soe longe before wee could dispeed her, but partly by loytringe delayes of Master Edwardes att Amadavas, and partly by the Portugalls practises against us, wee could not possibly doe any more. And if wee should give over this presentt tyme and keepe her till the nextt season, then I make accomptt that both ship and men wilbee much more disabled, the ship by wormes and wearinge, and the men by disorderinge of themselves in every place where wee come, besides the charge increased to noe small some; for my people cannot complaine of any wantt they have had or any unkind usadge, yet I greeve to thincke howe many are dead. Sir, in regard of the uncertaintye of the tyme and the doubtfull estate of busines att Suratte, by reason of the warres betweene the Moores and the Portugalls, I doe not thincke itt convenientt to leave any greatte stocke there, neither this presentt yeare nor any other, till the Portugalls growe weaker, or till these troubles are blowen over betweene the Moores and them; for Suratt is but weakly fenced, if it should bee valiantly assaulted.

[Yf the advice I shall receave att Bantam give me incuradge-ment to goe for Jopan, the tyme of staye there wilbee soe longe before I canne proceed, which putts mee in feare that that vile place will much consume my people<sup>1</sup>.]

Sir, I send you by Master Dodsworth a poore presentt of a carpett and a quiltt; neither the one nor other to my mynd, nor as I thoughtt, but seemeth such as could be had att Amadavas, and I intreatt your patience till I can better provide. I have also sentt you a couple of antilops, male and femalle; I wish they may come in safety to you.

Sir, being shorted of tyme necessary inforceth mee to desire your patience and refer you to my generall letter; as also for advice to letters of other men, which as I thincke have had more leasure; desiringe God to grauntt health to your person and content to your mynd, and soe with true affection I comend you

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph has been crossed out in the manuscript.

and yours to the blessed protection of the Almighty, wishinge for all I have written your favourable censure and hon[ourable] constructions.

Sir, yf you thincke fitt, I wish and thinck itt needfull, since wee must worcke out our trade att Suratte perforce withstandinge the force of the Portugalls, that you ymploy in principall commaund in your voyages such as well understand martiall businesses and that may be nimble in understandinge howe to make benefitte or take the best advantage of every occasion happeninge. Also Master Edwardes proceedinge in wast of provicions makes mee put in a caveatt concerning who shall dispose of the spendinge the victualls in your inferior ships, the cape merchaunt who goeth out to bee left in the country and sees [*unfinished*].

*Memorandum by Captain Downton, in Swally Road*<sup>1</sup>

1 March 1615

*Some remembraunces of my opinion for Master ALDWORTH to ympartte to all such principall commaunders of the Indian Companies busines as maye in shortte tyme (before alteration) come hither; desiringe him (or any in his place) to adde all such things fitt to bringe to their remembraunce which tyme or occasion will shewe; not onely for the good of the Company (which all good men oughtte to ayme att), but also for the creditt and benefitt of them which are in best places ymployed.*

Sir,

Accordinge to the advice of Thomas Kerridge from courtte, I wish you give councell to all principall commanders ymployed by our Company that may at first or second season ensuinge arive heere, thatt they make best construction of whatt the Nabob, to their seeminge in toyish manner, unfittly doe, since hee is driven therto by the stricte comaund of the Kinge (whome hee dare not offend) to lett nothinge passe unboughtte which

<sup>1</sup> O.C. 257. In Downton's hand. Printed in *Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 29.

maye seeme fitt for his torne; in regard of which hee is forced to restraine all other from buyinge; which since itt cannot bee holpen, itt must bee for his partte excused; wishinge all my frinds, for the common good, by all good indevours and kind behaviour to give him all contentte, with least prejudice that you maye.

Also it willbee noe ill pollicie yf wee also indeavour by all good demeanour to creepe into the good opinion of all sortts, both princes and comon people, partly for that by our commission therein wee give the Portugalls our enemyes noe advantage to scandalize us amongst these people, and partly that wee strive to gett the better hand of the Dutchmen, when they shall come hither, which is like to bee ere longe.

Wee are to consider withall and to beare in mynd that, yf the Portugalls by any stronge ayd outt of Spaine should prevaille over this country, or yf they shall give any overthrowe to our ships by sea, ytt will give them help and courage to revive both their myndes and strength. And the myndes of the people, which nowe respecte and honnour us, will soone fall of to make their best peace with the adversary; which will not bee againe recovered without greatte cost. Wherefore I wish, though the charge bee greatte, that the ships of the nextt season be sufficientte to defend themselves and the coast; which will againe revive the spiritts of these people, and maye strengthen the mynd of the Kinge not to make peace with the enemy. Therfore I am much in doubtte howe there canne the nextte yeare a ship bee spared from the rest to goe to the coast of Persia, though otherwise you have cause and meanes soe to doe, unles att last itt bee thoughtte fitt by advice to winter theere, and departte from hence att latter end of December or in January, when the other ships shall departte, some to the Southwards and one home. Yett withall it is to bee considered, yf you may lade your ship home and dispatch your busines much sooner, I knowe not howe, yf the enemy arive against this place, in regard of our people and stocke remayninge in the towne and for future hopes by their favours, if wec assist them, our ships maye not leave the place till the blowe of the enemyes force bee given; which if by good advice you knowe their presentt years force canne doe noe harme, you may

with more assurance proceed in their journeyes from hence the rather; which I leave to your better judgements, as tymes offer occasion.

As you have seene the Nabob by the hand of one man to buy all the trifles amongst the common people of the ships, soe you shall doe well to remember to give advice that noe man bringe any of their things to land which will procure greatte troubles and delayes to the mayne busines. And alsoe that one att a tyme bee appointed in everye shippe to sell the trifflinge commoditties of the common people; for otherwise they will presently overthrowe the price and value of all things, as I too latte found by experience.

I wish you to have a religious care over the Indian Companies servauntts that are under your charge, and lett the evils of others formerly make you more circumspecte to have carefull eye over the manners and behaviours, both of yonge and oldest; and if any bee found, by excessive drinckinge or otherwise, like to proove a scandall to our nacion, I wish you to use, first sharpe reprehencions and, if that doe not prevaille, then inflicte punishments; and if that worke noe reformation, then by the first ship send him home, with a wrytinge shewinge the reasons thereof.

Soe, desiringe God to add a blessinge to all good indevours tendinge to this busines of ours and of all that maye succeed us, to Gods glory and our ymployers benefitte, I rest

Your lovinge frind,

NICH. DOWNTON

*Captain Downton to the Company*<sup>1</sup>

7 March 1615

Manie distastes offred by Mocrebocon at our ships first comyng.

By a letter from Thomas Kerridge it appeared that Mocr[e]bcan was but the Kinges instrument to fulfill the desire of the King, &c. and that there was no hope from the King but through him. I therefore endeavored by all meanes to win him to us.

<sup>1</sup> O.C. 187. It is mainly an abstract, and the original is no longer extant. Printed in *Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 185.

Mocrebcan take[s] occasion to thincke us confederates with the Portugales, bicause we denied with our ships to go against Damon, nor otherwise to promise him to fight with the Portugales except they gave us first cause, notwithstanding he offred us large sommes of monies to fulfill his desire.

The said Mocrebcan was the more suspicious of us to be confederates with the Portugales, bicause when a fleete of 60 frigatts cam within shot of me, I would not shoote at them, I being unwilling to breake the peace.

The said Mocrebcan, after I endeavored to give him the best content I could, did ever shewe me great kindenes. He suffred us to carrie our goodes (which we bought in the countrie) aborde without bringing the same into the custom house.

The Mogoll commanded Mocrebcan to make no peace with the Portugales.

If your ships come yerelie for a little while of sufficient strength to incounter the Portugales, the Indians in short time would little care for them; and the Portugales for want of trade would be discouraged and growe weake, for the inhabitantes love them not.

I had by myne intelligencer advise of a letter which Mocrebcan received of the Jesuites, declaring that the Viceroy had expresse commandement from the King his master first to dryve awaie the English and then to take the towne of Surratt. This letter I obteyned of Mocrebcan; the coppey Englished I herewith send you.

The manner of the Portugales comyng with his fleete, their force, &c. pride, &c. never speaking to us, nor shewing the cause.

Our consultation, accord, and resolution to fight with them.

Their manner of fighting with us and successe<sup>1</sup>.

The Guzeratts readie to imbrace a peace upon a parly with the Portugall, doubting of our successe; for the force of the Portugale was great, in so much that it would not have gone well with us if God have [had?] favoured their cause. I never see menn fight with greater resolution then the Portugales; therefore

<sup>1</sup> This was really a colourless word, meaning simply the outcome, whether good or bad.

not to be taxed with cowardice, as some have done. The gallantes of the Portugales armie were in this busines, whereof divers kild and afterwarde burnt in the ships, and yet the report cometh from Damon that the frigatts carried thither to be buried above 300 Portugales. For others they tooke not so much paines nor care; besides manie drove ashore and swome aboute.

If the Portugales had not fallen into an error at the first, they might have destroyed the *Hope*, and by likelihoode the rest hastening so to hir aide.

They renewe their strength againe within 10 daies. We feare new dangers and prepare accordingly.

They sett upon us by fireworkes.

The Portugales with all their power departed from us, and went before the barr of Surratt. We were afraide they would sett up their rest against that towne<sup>1</sup>; but they were wiser.

Much quicksilver lost for want of good packing.

The ships muscatts breake like glasse; the cocks and hammers of snaphances<sup>2</sup> evilly made. The false making of sold pieces<sup>3</sup> hath disgraced them.

The ax[le]trees of your great ordinance made of brittle wood. The trackes<sup>4</sup> must be tourned when the timber is seasoned.

Match too scanty.

Want of iron chaines to laie upon our cables to keepe them from cutting.

Defect in our flesh; our oyle most part ronn out; our meale also spoyled by greene caske; so of our pease and oatmeale. No scales nor waights. Much of our bere cast overbored, being put into bad caske[s].

<sup>1</sup> I.e. venture everything by an attack upon Surat.

<sup>2</sup> A musket fitted with a flint-lock.

<sup>3</sup> The muskets which they had sold.

<sup>4</sup> The solid wooden wheels on which the carriages of ships' guns were mounted.

*Memorandum by Captain Downton*<sup>1</sup>

The copy of a note given in by Muccrob Caune of such thinges as hee desireth to bee furnished of by the nextt ships thatt come out of England.

- a. Two compleatte armours wroughtte, but lightte and easy to wear.
- b. Crooked swordes, broad; hard to be gotten, for they try them with their knee and if they stand, in no request.
- c. Knives of the best, large, long and thine, to bowe almost rownd and com straight againe of themselves.
- d. Satten of red, yellowe, greene, tawny.
- e. Velvett of the best, of red, yellowe, blacke, greene.
- f. All manner of toyes that may contentt the Kinge.
- g. Broadcloth of the finest, that will not staine, of yellowe, red and greene.
- h. All manner of toyes for women.
- i. Pictures in cloth, not in wood.
- k. Perfumed lether.
- l. Cloth of Arras<sup>2</sup>, wroughtt with pictures.
- m. The greatest lookinglasses that maye be gotte.
- {n. Any figures of beastes, birdes, or other similes made of glas[s]e,
- {o. of hard plaster, of silver, brasse, wood, iron, stone, or ivorye.
- p. Perfumed sweett bages, imbrodered with gold.
- q. Rich cabinettes with a glasse, imbrodred<sup>3</sup>.
- r. Rich shag<sup>4</sup> of red cullor.
- s. Mastiffes, greyhoundes, spaniells, and little doges, 3 of each.
- t. Large Muscovia hides.
- v. Vellem and parchmente, good store.

## [Notes]

- d. Satten, some small quantitie (for I think they will give litle more then it cost in England) of that least gomed.
- e. Velvet we brought by Sir Henry Middleton made but litle prophet and is no manes money but the kings; therfore the lese.
- f. Things will aske some labour to find.

<sup>1</sup> O.C. 183. Printed in *Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> The well-known pictured tapestry made at Arras, in France.

<sup>3</sup> Inlaid.

<sup>4</sup> A cloth, of worsted or silk, with a velvet nap on one side.

- g. Brodcloathes. His meaning is very fine cloath and perfect coullours, and the red he meaneth scarlett.
- i. Pictors on cloath as you had made at London, not as the French, which warpe, rent and break.
- l. Cloath of Arrise is very costly; therfore I think best to make showe of difickcultie in the gattng therof (unlese a litle), but tappistry insteed therof.
- n. Figurs of divers beasts and dogs in ston or plaster, I have sene com from Frainckford [Frankfurt]. I think at Amsterdam may enoughe be had.
- s. Doges hard to be carried.
- t. They thought much to give the prise they cost in England.
- v. Parchment you may fitt them with store, for I think it be but to writ books on.

NICH. DOWNTON

*Samuel Squire at sea to Sir Thomas Smythe<sup>1</sup>*

9 March 1615

Hon. Sir,

To expresse my dewty, hoping of Your Worshipp's favorable peruseing and exceptance, I give you to understand that the 7th of March 1613 [1614] we set sayle out of the Downes, and derected our course with a favorable winde for the Lizard. The next daie we passed by the I[sle] of Wight; and the 9th we put off from the Lizard and steared for the Grand Canarie; and the 25th we passed between it and Lancerote [Lanzarote] and sayled with a fre[sh] winde tell we came into the lattitude of  $02^{\circ} 45'$ , whear we mett with the generall S.E. and E.S.E. windes which doth allwaies blowe hear one these tymes of the yeare, and did rule with us for the most parte tell we came into south lattitude of  $15^{\circ} 00'$  and then it veared to the northwardes and grew more fayer. The 19 [sic] of Aprill 1614 we passed the Equinoctiall, and coming into the lattitude of  $26^{\circ} 30'$  we mett with the westerly windes, with which one the 15th of June we arived in Souldanha; our first landfall being Conny Iland, which first did discover himselfe by his breach, the sea and windes being very high. The next night after our arivall, rideing a storme, our bote splitt from

<sup>1</sup> O.C. 264. Printed in *Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 45.



our shipps stearne and drive ashore and carried our sm[all] skiffe away with hir; both which, before we could com to the knowledg of againe, was by the salvages soe abused for the ironworke that thay wear the longer arepayring. The salvage Your Worships sent by us was putt one land, but we never sawe hym after, nor could gitt any refreshing of fresh victualls for our men during our abodd heare; which was a cause of our lesser staye. But before our departure the Generall sent me to discover the inland contry and see for tymber to mast our unbuilt pinnace; the which I fownd one the S.W. side of the Table in abundance, eyther to build or mast small shipping. With this we supplied our wantes in that kinde. And our men being all in health, the 30th we departed; and when we came out, being becalmed, we had a strong current that sett about the C[ape] Bona Spei to the N.N.W., after eight leagues in 24 hower[s]. The 4th of July after calmes the winde came westerly, which put us about the Cape; the which haveing passed wee had a continewall hindering current tell we came 110 leagues past it, upon an E.S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. course; the same setting to the S.W. at sometymes 16 leagues in 24 howers; after which we had contrary windes and stormes for the most parte tell th'ending of this month, at what tyme we drewe neare the iland of Madagasker; whear we sawe a sayle whome we should have spoken withall, but thay wear to great a distance from us, uppon a course we could not fetch.

The 6th of August we cam into Augustin B[ay], whear to refresh our men; to procure which the Generall sent me into the land. But it was long before I could gaine speech with the people, for feare thay had of us; but after speech thay brought us downe cattle, the which we bought for mony, an great bullock for seven shillings, but farr better cheape for small sillver chaines to hang about their neckes. Hear in my travell I fownd many balsome trees, the sapp or gomm of which I brought aboard, and was knowne to our chirurgions to be the same.

And haveing wooded, wattered and procured som cattle, the 12th dicto we departed, and the 18th we had shoulding one the shoulde of Mada[ga]sker<sup>1</sup>, being in the latitude of 17° 20'; between which and the latitude of [blank] we had the depthes

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Parcel or Parcella Bank.

from 9 to 31 f[athom]s, the tide setting 12 howers to the northwardes and like tyme to the southwardes, both of like strength and indifferant strongly; but coming past the shouldes we had it set alltogether to the northwardes. The 23th daie we had sight of the iland of Moyella and passed by it, and Comora the 24th. From thence we steared for Secutra, having a current continewally with us; and the 9th of September we arived in Delis[ha] Roade, wher the King came to us and used us very kindly. And haveing of him bought some alios, and the monson calling us awaie, the 14th in the morning we departed for India and came one the coast the second of October, our landfall being about Dabull. We wear the longer one this journey, in regard th'esterly monson came before we could recover the coast. Near it we mett with a small shipp of India, whome desiered our ayde to conducte them for Surate; which our Generall granted (though it weare to our hinderance) the sooner in regard she belonged to merchantes of Surate, whome the Generall desiered to pleasure, wherby to wine a good conceait of them. Tell the 15th daie we weare forced to tide it upp with contrary windes; at what tyme we came to Swal[l]y; wher coming, as one daie followeth another, soe every daie did begitt newe effects. For one daie we wear promised that about our trade and redifieing of the factory, which the next daie could not be performed except we would goe for Damon and fight with the Portugalls. But the Generall, being constant to followe his commis[s]ion, denied it and sent for the goods from Surate to be gon; which the Nabab seing consented unto him, and then we began to discharg our goodes, being about the prim[e] of November. And eight daies after Master Edwardes with his company of merchantes went for Surate; wher before he could dispatch his busines from then[ce] to goe to the Kinge, grew to the last of this month [i.e. November]; haveing many disturbances and hinderances by the Nabab, whome was not his nor our nations freind, as I would he weare, but allwayes opposit unto them in all their proceedings. In this tyme it pleased God to take to His mercye that worthy merchant and good servant of yours Master Emsworth, whome died at Surate the 23th dicto.

Master Edwardes in his travells through Baroch and Amadavar

was kindly used, and loving receaved by the governours of those places, and the merchantes delt for goodes, which is in the *Hope*, whome I trust in God will bring it safe into your handes. In the meane tyme that thay weare dealing about their merchandizes the Viz Roy, named Don Jeronimoe, the 18th of Januarie came with a powerfull army containing nine shippes, two gallies and 58 frigotes, and remaineing not long without givinge an asault, for the 20th thay came fayer by the sands. We likewise wayed from our usuall road and went near the entring to [await?] their incoming, and [the] Generall sent the *Hope* a distance from us to give an edge to their currage, wherby to have som rash at[t]empt practised by them; which fell out accordingly, for thay gave the onsett with three of their smaller shippes and most of their frigotes, layeing hir aboard and at the first very resolutely charged them, whome had their men in their tops eyther mortally wounded or slaine, by what meanes hir maynetopp fiered and burnt downe, but after the fight was quenched and the losse soone repayred. It was not long after thay had borded hir before we went to hir reskew, and the enymie likewise charged one us with the rest of their force, coming soe neare the sand as thay could or at lest thay would; but the threc that wear aboard the *Hope* we put to great losse, and made those that wear liveing in the shippes to forsake them and enter their frigotes for quicker speed to be gone. But ther hast was to ther ruing and their speed their overthrowe; for we lett fly at them with our great ordinance and small shote, soe that by them many of their frigotes wear suncke and ther inhabitanse lost their lives. Tell sonsett we continewally battered one against thother. In the meane tyme the enymies shippes wear cleared from the *Hope*, being one fier. In this fight ther wear five men slayne and divers wowned, which number, thankes be to God, was farr inferior to the enymies losse, for we had certaine notice by Hogee san Alee, Sabinder of Surat, howe that thay had carried to Damon to be buried 360, besides divers that we sawe daylie floting one the watter and lyeing one the sand.

After this we fownd them quiet, and I thinke doubtfull of our goeing out to charg them, and therfore sent to Diue for more force, being two shippes, two junkes and divers botes, which we

understood wear to fier. But we, putting our trust and successe to God and our best indevours, did allwaies abandon feare and with a stout curage did looke to see the event; which the 9th of February, at 10 a'clocke at night, thay practissed with two fiers in severall botes, one of which did drive thwart the *Hopes* halse and their was fiered, but with healp of our botes it was soone cleared without doeing any harme, thanks be to God. The next night at the same tyme thay exersised the like with two very dangerous fiers; the first contained two botes and the next four, which wear all chained together, fierd and lett drive amongst us; but putting our shippes under sayle we cleared us of them, which drive ashore and their burnt out. Our pinis being about the fier tooke the bot and fierers of these stratagemas, being four Portugalls, and brought them to the Generall, whom ca[u]sed them all to be put in irons. This [Thus?] it pleased God to deliver the instruments and me[a]nt actors of our tragidies into our handes, to suffer punishments according to their facte; a tipe and draught of which, with the manner of our fight, I have drawne and delivered to the Generall to send home unto Your Worshippes, the which I beseech you to except of<sup>1</sup>. The next daie thay, seing their force and stratagemes take noe better effecte, being out of hart to tarry a longer in this place, went with his fleet to the barr, and not long after went from thence to the southwards, as we deemed to drawe us to securitie and when we thought lest of them to charg us with fier and soe indanger us. But their being out of sight did not secuer us soe but that we wear allwaies jelious [i.e. suspicious] of them; whome came not, but our goods came downe, with which we laded the *Hope* for England; which shipp being laden, the second of March we sett sayle from Swaly and that night came to the Barr of Suratt, whear we anchored tell [next] daie noone and then wayed; standing to the southwards tell next morning, at what tyme we wear thwart Damon; wher we espied the Portugall fleet at anchor, whom presently wayed and chassed us, and we followed our corse tell the 6th dicto, when we strocke our topsayles to goe astarne our fleet; the which the enemy seing, thinking we had done it to have stayed for them, and thay clapt close by a winde and stood into the

<sup>1</sup> Not extant.

shore from us, whome we never saw [? again]. Thuse, haveing nothing elce to truble Your Worshipp withall, I cease from wrighting, but will never cease praying to God for your healthes and wellfare.

From the sea, the 9th March 1614 [1615].

Your searvant ever to be commandded,

SAMUELL SQUIER

[*Endorsed as read in Court, 2 Dec. 1615*]

*Thomas Elkington to the Company*<sup>1</sup>

25 February and 10 March 1615

Swally Road, 25 February.

Honorable Sir and Worshipful Sirs,

My dutie premised, &c. May it please you that the 7th March 1613 [i.e. 1614] wee departed from the Downes with a fair wind, and the 9th of that present at night had the Landes End asterne of us. The 25th wee fell with the Gran Canaria, being for somm seven daies, betweene the north and south cape, crossed with contrary wyndes. The 16th Aprill 1614 wee passed the Equynoctiall Lyne. The 4th May in a good stife gale of wynd the *Hector* spronge hir formast, in recovery wherof she was till the 8th of that present, all which tyme the fleete was forced to shorten sayle to keepe hir companie. The 14th June wee fell with the land somm 10 leauges to the northward of Salldania Bay, and the 15th wee came into the baye and ther came to an anchor; being first questioned per our Gennerall whether best so to doe or stand about the Cape in regard of fowl weather feared, which might cause bad rydinge; but upon encouradgment of somm that formerly had bynn ther, and withall the *Guyft* and *Hector* being light, resolved to do as afforsaid, as well for the stifninge of the two said shippes (who could not doble the Cape without danger as they wear) as also to releve ourselves with what the place affoorded; which wee found not answerable to former reportes, our greatest releife being fysh,

<sup>1</sup> O.C. 251. Holograph. Printed in *Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 1.

wherof wee tooke som reasonable quantitie, but for flesh could procure but very small store, the people alltogether desiringe brass, niether esteming copper nor iron. Wee landed ther the Saldanian brought home by Captayne Towerson, but after he once gott ashore with such thinges as Your Worships bestowed on hym wee could never see hym more; so do greatly fear he mought bee cause of our worser intertaynment; for which he had no ocaation geven, being all the voyadge more kindly used then he any waies could deserve. But being ingratefull dogges, all of them, not better to bee expected; and would have bynn much better for us, and such as shall come hearafter, yf he never had seene England, which Your Worships hearafter may please to geve order to prevente.

Wee understood ther per notes graven on rockes that the *Concord* aryved ther the 9th Maye and departed for Bantam the 3th of June; the *Dragon*, homewardest bound, came thither the 20th February and departed the 6th<sup>1</sup> March; the *Exspedition*, lykewise homewardest bound, the 21th March and departed ther hence the 31th of that present; theas being all which wee found had bynn ther that year, and hope in God they ar long or [i.e. ere] this with you savely aryved. A presumption ther was, by a coopers name that was skrached one the stones, that the *Clove* had bynn ther, but no certaynty therof.

In the night and in a stife gale of wynd the *Guyft* hir long boate brake from hir sterne, and with hir the jollywatt, and wear both dryven into the bottome of the baye; the stemme of the long boate breaking shorte of, by reason of hadd and sappye tymber wherof it was made and bad workmanshipp, wherin gennerally Your Worships ar much abused in all your provitions by such workmen as you imploye, to the hassard of all, shuffling up their worke in such manner, in hope of never hearing more of it by reason of the leangth of the voyadge, as is lamentable to see men to be so respectless of the savetie of such a voyadge and mens lyves, and all for som pryvate gayne of their owne; being thought the *Hectors* formast was defectyve before it was set in. The loss of theas boates hindred our busynes much in Saldania, but wear agayne recovered and made as serviceable as before.

<sup>1</sup> Should be 4th (*Best*, p. 81).

Having fytted ourselves with water and what elce the place afforded, wee departed Saldania the 30th June and came to the Bay of St. Augustyne, one the iland of St. Laurance, the 7th August, the three other shippes getting in the night before, but wee, being somewhat to leeward, could not fech it till the next morninge. In our passadge betweene the Cape Bone Spe and St. Laurance wee had much foule weather, with contrary windes and strong curranttes; our Genneralles intent of putting in ther being to furnish us with what the Cape would not afford, as flesh and wood; with both which wee wear reasonable well fytted, fynding pretie store of oxen, good and good cheape, and mought have had more yf wee had had what they desired, which was sylver chaines, in which for the vallue of 2s. wee had a good oxe, wheras in monye wee could not have it for 5s.; being forced to use all the white whistle chaynes in the fleete, which so long as they lasted wee wanted not; therfor very fytting henceforward Your Worships furnish such shippes as you send for theas partes with what quantitie therof as may be fitting for that purpose. In this place wee had som fysh and store of tamerynds, which, with the flesh, much comforted our men.

Wee staid ther till the 12th at night and then set sayle to proceede one our voyadge; and the 23th fell with the ilandes of Mohiela and Comora, wher by reporte is plentie of all thinges for refreshment; but, doubting our mounstone to be farr spent, wee staid not at any of them. The second September wee passed the Lyne agayne, and the 9th day wee fell with the iland of Socotra, and ther came to an anchor in the road of Delishaw; being very courteously intertayned by the kinge of the iland, who furnished us with what his barren iland afforded, being goates and some small store of cattle, but very dear; paying for a very bad cowe ten pieces of eight and a goate one piece of eight. Wee bought of hym som 27 kintalles alloes att 30 pieces of eight per kintall, every kintall making 94 lbs. Inglysh or therupon, which wee packed up in three pipes, as per an envoyse sent you may appear; being forced to take their waight, having nether beame nor waighttes of our owne in any of the shippes, which wee have and shall much wante, being very requesyte in theas voydages; wherof for hearafter may it please you to take notice of.

From thence wee set sayle the 14th of that present and the second of October fell with the coast of India, and after wear plying up for the barr of Surrat till the 15th present<sup>1</sup>, comminge to an anchor the same day in South Swally (God be thanked) in savetie; having lost in the shipp the *Sollomon* till then synce our departure from Eyngland onely one man, who came diseased from Eyngland; but synce wee came into this place have buried out of hir seven more, all of the fluxe, which I conceive proceedeth of their inordynate drynking of a sorte of wyne that distilleth out of the palmyto trees called Tadie<sup>2</sup>, wherof this place affoordeth much.

The next day after our aryvall in Swally Road came aboard of our Gennerall Master Thomas Aldworth, of whom, according to Your Worships comyssion geven, our Gennerall propounded unto hym such questiones tuchinge the estate of your busynes in Surrat as therin it pleased you to set downe, whose answer therto you shall hearwith receave. Wee also wear geven to understand from hym that the Great Magoll had debarred the Portingall from trade in any of his domynions, by reason of a shipp they tooke at the barrs foote of Surrat of very great vallue per-tayninge to his subjecttes, as also had beseyegead a towne possessed by them some 12 leauges to the southward of Surrat, called Damon, which siege as yet contynueth, though with lyttle hope of prevaylinge. This reporte of the Portingalles casting out, with the good usege of Master Aldworth and other Your Worships factors leaft per the *Dragon* and *Hoseander* (wherof ther remayned at our aryvall in Surrat only Master Thomas Aldworth and William Bedulfe; at Agymer [Ajmer], wher the courte now is, Thomas Kerrydge; and at Agra Nicholas Whithington), put us in good hope to fynd the lyke. Notwithstanding was thought fytting, before wee landed any thinge, to make somm tryall of their inclynations towardes us now upon the aryvall of the shippes, as also to procure what other priveleyeges should bee needfull for us and not allredie set downe per Gennerall Beste; which before wee could demaund of them

<sup>1</sup> Meaning October.

<sup>2</sup> Toddy (*tāri*), the sweet drink derived from the sap of various species of palm-trees. When fermented, it yields the spirit known as arrack.



wee wear demaunded by them to goe in their aid to the syedge of Damon with Your Worships shippes; which our Gennerall in his good descretion refusinge to doe, as also some other their unreasonable demaundes, their former kindness was converted into all harsh intreating of us; yet nether denied us trade or gave us incouragment of good intertaynment. Which seeing, as also doubtinge that what had passed in the Red Sea with them was not yet forgotten (their wordes importinge no leass) made us doubtfull what to doe; withall knowing no place in the Indies for the ventinge of such comodities as wee had, nor any other meanes to right ourselves of them. At last, presuminge upon the Kinges firma, having first somewhat (as wee thought) mollyfied the Governor Magrobocan, wee resolved to land the goodes and present for the Kinge; perswadinge ourselves, howsoever he might prove harsh unto us, he would not dare to offer any violence; houlding it better to put it to a lyttle adventure then forgoe a trade so longe sought after and imbraced by Your Worships with so good applause.

In theas uncertaynties and delaies wee wear heald till the 8th November, and then Master Edwardes, with the most parte of Your Worships factors and goodes such as then was appoynted to bee landed, went for Surrat; Master Edwardes, with some others, intending forthwith to goe for the courte; Master Aldworth, and others therto appoynted, for Amadavar and Cambaya, for providing of what lading they could for retorne of one ship or more; Master Ensworth and myselfe, with some others, being appoynted to stay at Surrat, for receaving and sale of such goodes as wear leaft aboard. Master Ensworth at his going ashore not being halfe well, and so contynued worse and worse untill the 23th of that present, and then it pleased God to take hym to His mercie, and the same day lykewise Tymothy Wood, one of Your Worships factors appoynted for Bantam; both of them dyinge of the fluxe.

From the 8th November (that wee landed) to the 30th wee wear delayed of by Magrobocan and [the] Costomer in the custominge of our goodes and other dysturbances, as vewing the Kinges present, taking the choyse of all goodes at his owne pleasure and price, and rating our goodes for the custome at

such high prices as themselves thought good, and in such manner that, wheras the custome is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., by the overatinge of our commodities they make us pay upwardes of 5 per cent; all which wee wear forced to suffer for our speedier dispatch. And so the first December Master Edwardes, Master Rogers, Thomas Myttford, William<sup>1</sup> Ufflett and others departed for Agra by the way of Amadavar; and with them Master Aldworth and Master Dodsworth for the busynes ther. Having bought in Amadavar, Sarques and Baroch such quantities of indico and cloath as per the envoyse sent may appear, being all retorned agayne in savetie, Henry Smith excepted, who Master Edwardes intended to have carried to Agra, but falling sicke of a fluxe in Amadavar, ther departed this lyfe; a youth much to bee bewayled, his sober and vertuous carriadge promisinge good frutes for hearafter. In their retorne from Amadavar Master Aldworth with his companie was set upon by theeves, but (God bee thanked) your goodes eskaped; only Humphrey Elkington was shott through the thighe with an arrowe, but agayne recovered; and all such goodes as bought, aboard in safetie. God send itt in lyke safetie unto your handes.

Of Master Edwardes aryvall at the courte wee yet hear no newes, and is to bee doubted none will bee hear before the departure of the shippes. From hym much reformation of our abuses and hard usadge is exspected to bee obtayned of the Kinge, but how will bee effected tyme must learne. But so farr as I can perseave the present Governor is so favored, and the King ruled by hym, that whatsoever good is to bee exspected from the courte must bee by meanes of this man hear, the King referring all concerninge us unto hym and will not do any thinge in our behaulfes but what from hym he shall bee advised; which yf wee had bynn formerly [given] to understand so much and so to have in some more mylder sorte tempered ourselves, by geving way to some of his lesser requestes, would have gayned us much tyme and troble; but our information of spedie redress from the Kinge, and how haynous it would bee to geve consent or suffer his presenttes to bee seene, drew us into many inconveniences; making no doubt, for his other demaund of going

<sup>1</sup> A mistake for Nicholas.

agaynst the Portingall, wee should, without doing it, have geven hym some reasonable satisfaction. Yf the busynes contynue so (as I see not but it is lykely, though therin I am of opynion contrary to others) I see not that it is so requesyte to mayntayne one at so great a charge at courte as I doubt Your Worships will fynd, but do rather thinke a man of indifferet condition will bee ther suffitient; for that, as before I have wrytt, the Kinge will confyrme nothings but what from hence he by his Governor shall bee enformed of; which, yf so, it [will] prove more needfull to temporise with the Governor hear then [the] Kinge above. And thus I have breiffly advised Your Worships of such occurrence as till then happened; not doubting but per the bearer hearof, Master Edward Dodsworth (God sending hym lyfe), who our Gennerall for that purpose thought fytt to send home, Your Worships will more particulerly bee advised of all matters; to which do referr me.

And now you shall understand that the 18th Jannuary came to the Barr of Surrat the Vizeroye of Portugall with six gallions from 800 to 1000 tonns, three smaller shippes from 150 to 300 tonns, two gallics, and some 60 frigattes. The 20[th] the three smaller shippes, with many of their frigattes, came within the sandes at Swally and with great resolution came aboard the *Hope*, and once or twice entred hir, but wear by them put of agayne, and by the rest of the shippes so gauled that they wear forced to forsake their owne shippes and betake themselves to swymminge; which gave the *Hope* tyme to clear hirselve, and, doubting what traynes might bee leaft aboard the Portingall shippes, thought it the best course to fier them, which accordingly they dyd; having in this conflicte, as wee wear certaynly advised from Daman, slayne, burned and drowned of the Portingalls upwardes of 350 men, and amoungst them many of note and most of their resolutest souldiers; of ours (God bee thanked) only five wear slayne, viz., three out of the *Hope* and two out of the *Hector*; and the head of the *Hopes* maynmast by a myschance fired, but after repayred. In this fight the great shippes came as near the sandes as they could, and plyed with their great ordynance at our shippes, and they the lyke at them agayne, till night gave them no further leave.

Having lost theas three shippes, within ten daies they supplied themselves from Daman and Diu with four more; after whose aryvall, to wearie our men and keepe them in action, they made many shewes and proffers to come in with their shippes, but never more effected it; but resolved one a more dangerous course for us, and was to fyer boates chayned and stuffed with powder, wyldfier and other combustyble matters, and so with the ebbe to let them dryve on the shippes. The first wherof they attempted the 9th February at night with two boates, one wherof came aboard the *Hope*, but (God be thanked) [she] cleared herself without hurte, and so burninge drave by hir. The next night they assaied with six more, but had the lyke success. In this their last attempt a small boate was taken per our Gennerall, wherein six men, wherof two slayne and four alyve; which he hath aboard and intendeth, as I thinke, to send unto Your Worships. The Vizeroye, it semes, perceaving his attempttes not to answer his expectation, the next day with his whole flette set sayle and went and rydd at the Barr; from whence the day following they all departed, but whether, not yet certaynly knowne; wee dayly expecting their retorne hether agayne or encounter at sea, wher it may bee they lie in waight for us; wherein Gods will bee donn.

Tuching the estate of your busynes in theas partes, you shall understand our Gennerall hath landed 12 chists [of] mony, all the cloath, elephantts teeth, lead, quicksyilver, vermylion, tynn, glasses, combcasses, Muskovie hides, picktures, knyves, two chists [of] crooked swordblades, lawnces, strong waters, and what other things appoynted for presentts; of which goods Master Edwards carried with hym for Agra 160 broadcloathes, the most parte of the glasses, combcasses, picktures, strong waters, swordblades, and knyves. Of the rest leaft in Surrat only hath bynn sould the elephantts teeth (at 70 mamudos the maund) and a small parte of the lead (at 8½ ma[mudos] the maund). For broadcloath Surrat is no place of vent for any, except it bee by great chance [that] som great man buy a cloath, three or four, for coverings of elephantts and makeinge of saddles. Elce I see not any use they put it unto; none therof worne in any garment; being so dear that, for the price of a covett [see p. 103 n.]

of our cloath a man will ther, according to their wearinge, make hymselfe two or three shutes. So that, yf you desier to vent any quantitie, it must bee the cheapness that must cause it. Master Edwards his order is not to sell under 25 ma[mudos] the covett; he having good hopes to fynd both price and dispatch to content for them in Agra (which God graunt); much fearing the quantitie now gonn thether will bee sufficient to furnish that place for a year. So that, yf you have proceeded according to advise for the quantitie advised for, of force somm other place must bee sought for vent of them, which hear wee have gennerally conceived of would bee Persia; our oppynions being streanghtened by the reporte of one, Richard Stell, who came out of Toorkie through Persia to Surrat and by consent of all was thought fytt to bee intertaynd in Your Worships service, to retorne that way agayne, and with hym to send John Crowther, one of Your Worships factours which came in theas shippes, to discover the trade ther, with what fytt harbours for shippes; and [this] donn, the one to goe for Eyingland, to make reporte therof unto Your Worships, and the other to retorne backe for Surrat.

The lead as before, somm small parte therof soold, and the rest [is] upon price; being offered befor my departure, for all togeather, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$  ma[mudos] the maund; and thinke Master Aldworth, after the departure of the shippes, shall attayne to 8 mamudos; at which price I thinke the lyke quantitie now sent will be vented, and not above.

Tynn, great store therof in the country and esteemed much better then ours<sup>1</sup>; but this year being somm wante therof, made ours the better, and for that reason had before my departure sould it for 39 ma[mudos] the maund, but not carried away, whether after our departure it would [be] or no, the partie being a great man and deemed he had overbought it. The tynn of the country, when this was sould, was worth 54 ma[mudos] the maund. I thinke the lyke quantitie now sent would yearly sell [at] about 30 ma[mudos] the maund.

Quickesylver at our aryvall [was] worth 350 ma[mudos] the maund, but presently [i.e. at once] fell to 260; wherupon [I]

<sup>1</sup> Practically no tin is found in India. The reference in the text must be to importations from the Malay Peninsula.

thought [it] better to keepe then sell at that rate, hoping after the departure of the shippes it would agayne rise; being allwaies a vendable commodytie in this place, and not to bee glutted with what quantitie (as I conceive) can bee attayned in Eynghland, thought [i.e. though] not to that proffytt that a smaller quantitie may bee sould at; the lyke for vermylion, allwaies worth 10 mamudos less then quicksilver.

Swordblades, crooked, somewhat broad and thickebacked, and such as will bowe and not stand, will sell to good reconninge; but straight nothinge esteemed. Those now sent (I meane the crooked) not to their lykinge; yet those few leaft att Surrat and Baroch sould at 30, 35, and 40 mamudos the piece. The rest, sent for Agra, [I] doubt not but will sell farr better.

Muskovie hides, according to the tryall wee have had hear, not much regarded, except they mought bee had much better cheape then these now sent cost in Eynghland; therfor cannot encourage [you] to send more hereafter.

For combcasses, picktures, looking glasses, and other such toies, I wish not any to bee sent; at least [they should not be] sould on land, but rather aboard; for though they may one way geve somm contente, yet they cause so much troble in the custominge, and discontent to great men that will desier them at their owne prices as they shall thinke good, that wee found much hyndrance by them in our busynes; which must hereafter be prevented by selling aboard to those that shall desier them; who is only the governour that shall be appoynted by the Kinge, who hath order to buy all such toies; none of the meaner sorte daring to meddle with them. Therfor (as before) not to send any but what may serve for presentts or [be] sould in that manner; [we] not fynding sale for any hear in Surrat after once landed; and what they shall doe in Agra I doubt not but hereafter they will advise.

Comodities fyttinge to bee sent for this place yearly will be somm 200 cloathes; the most parte stametts<sup>1</sup> and Venice reddes, the rest yellowes, popingayes<sup>2</sup>, grass greenes, and pynk cullours, but for other cullours by no meanes to send any. Elephantts teeth, the lyke or a greater parcell then now last sent will sell

<sup>1</sup> Scarlet cloth.

<sup>2</sup> Parrot green.

near about the price those sould at; to bee about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  the C<sup>r</sup>, round, and without flawes. Those wee now brought [were] very well lyked, though in workinge proved (as they say) not so white as what commeth from Mosambicke. Lead, 1000 piggs, or the quantitie therof cast into smaller, being fyttter for their ocations for carriage, etc. Quicksylver, what you can procure. Vermylion, the lyke. Swordblades, broad and crooked, with thicke backes and such as will bowe and not stand; but no straight. Corral, in round or longe beads and braunches, great vente for it hear and will turne to great proffytt; wherof may it please Your Worships with the fyrst to send what quantitie you can procure of any of the sortts, espetially round beads and braunches; with somm amber beads and amber unwrought; fair esmeraules and pearles lykewise well requested; with somm crymson cullored vellvetts and sattynes of the best. Any other commoditie that our land affoordeth I cannot perceave to bee hear requested.

Touching the monies, waightts, and measures hear used<sup>2</sup>: Your monies currant in Surrat is of sylver, called a mamudo, being of vallue allmost 12*d.* sterling. Annother coyne ther is of copper, called a pize [*paisa*], wherof you have commonly 34 in the mamudo, being so great as they ar worth it; therfor, as copper riseth or falleth, you have more or less in the mamudo. The piece of eight is gennerally worth 5 ma[mudos], less 3 pize, the single cross, and 5 ma[mudos], less 4 pize, the doble cross, and what they shall wante of waight besydes to bee deducted, which ofte proveth very much; therfor a spetiall regard must bee had to the waightness of them. Other coynes passeth in Cambaya and Amadavar, called rupies; wherof both one and other Master Dodsworth carrieth to shew unto Your Worships, with waightts and measures. The waight is called a maund, which maketh near upon 32*l*[*b.*] Inglysh; and in it 40 seeres, and in every seere 18 pize; except at Agra, wher the wayght is allmost doble. The measure is called a covett, wherof there is two: one wherby our Inglysh cloath is only sould by, of leangth  $35\frac{1}{2}$  ynches;

<sup>1</sup> Meaning that the tusks should average about two and a half to the cwt.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Elkington's and Ufflet's notes on this subject, in the *Supplementary Calendar*, pp. 46, 48.

the other, wherby all other commoditie is sould by, is of leangth 26½ ynches.

Tuching the trade of Surrat, it may bee I may bee of dyfferent opynion from others; yet hould it my dutie to wright what I thinke therof and leave the further consyderation therof to Your Worships. First, you must exspect to bee crossed therin by the Portingall, with all the force hee can make; so that it shall bee needfull every year, to have your goods goe and come in safetie, to send no less streangth then you sent with us, but rather more; for wee see now, and [it] is much to bee doubted, that every year they will encrease theirs. And wheras somm thinke that, going thus strongly provided for three or four years, it may chance quite to discouradge them, you ar to thinke that those that have so longe injoyed so benefitall a trade to them will put very hard for it before they will bee thrust out; having their forces so near at hand that they do it with lyttle or no charge, in regard what you ar at. And for such goods as cheyfly you desier, which is indicoe, althought that in two years the country people hath shipped out lyttle or none, nor the Portingalls, in regard of the warrs with them, not bought much, yet, by reporte of them that went for Amadavar and Sarques, ther was not 1000 churles more then what they bought to bee had. Nowe, yf theas people come to have peace with the Portingall (which they crie out for), wherby they may agayne transporte and the Portingall lykewise buy, you may immadgin what would bee leaft for the Inglysh, and whether the gaynes therof will countervayle the charge fytting to bee sent. So, to conlude, except it may bee followed with no greater charge then what therence may bee laden (which I conceive may bee one shipe per year), it will drawe a greater charge then benefytt can bee made; besydes the harsh usadge, exactinges of customes, sloe sales, dangers in transportinge your goods, great chardges of a leydger [see p. 6 *n.*] in Agra, and other distastes which I omytt to wright of, hoping somm of them will bee reformed by hym that lyeth ther. Thus having wrytt my mind therof, [I] referr you to advise and reporte of others.

Ther is leaft with Master Thomas Aldworth and the rest, in mony, lead, quicksyilver, vermylion, tynn, etc., by computation a matter of 10,000*l.* sterling, as it is ther worth; which [it] hath



bynn thought fytting presently to bring into monye, as the tyme will affoord, and with the proceede therof to goe for Amadavar and ther to invest itt in indico, to bee in Surrat before the raynes; [so] that, God sen[d]ing your shippes in safetie, it is to bee hoped that they shall not neede to stay longe for the ladinge of one; Master Edwards having also with hym, in cloath and other commodities, a matter of 7,000*l.* sterling, the most parte wherof [it] is lykewise hoped will bee employed and sent downe in commoditie agaynst the comminge of the said shippes. And for what callicoe cloath they shall wante, [it] will bee provided in Baroch in a very small tyme after their aryvall. So that, yf the Portingall cross it not, by getting into Swally before the shippes come, they may have a quicke dispatch; but yf they gett that place (as is doubted they will endeavour by all meanes), they will put them to much trouble, for that the river of Surrat they may commaund with their frigatts, that a boat shall not stirr in nor out.

Such factours as Your Worships appoynted for Bantam being destytute of mony for providinge of necessaries, and their year being exspired, by order from our Gennerall I have paid unto them for  $\frac{1}{3}$  parte of their wadges, after 5*s.* the piece of eight, as follows: to Raph Preston, 15*l.*: to John Oxwicke, 25*l.*: to Edmund Aspyvall, 11*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*: to John Sandcroft, 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*: to Richard Batty, 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*: to Humphry Elkington, 15*l.*: to Edward Holmden, 10*l.*: to Samuell Juxon, 10*l.* [?]: to William Vernon, 10*l.*: to Richard Pytt, 10*l.*: to Tymothie Mallory, 10*l.*; and to John Tucker, 10*l.* Some of thease hear set downe wear appoynted for Surrat, but our Gennerall, for somm causes, thought fyttest to take them for Bantam, leaving others in their romes.

*Aboard the Hectour, in 14 degrees latytude,  
the 10th of March 1614 [1615]*

By your comysion, received of our Gennerall, I perseave it is your pleasures I should goe for Bantam; which though it wear contrary to my exspectation, yet, such being Your Worships order, I am willing to submytt myselfe therunto, and still wyll

bee redie with all loyall service to obay Your Worships commaunds. By our Genneralls order I imbarcked myselfe in this ship, the *Hectour*, and having dispatched all [our business?] att Surrat and with Master Aldworth, wee set sayle from Swally Road the second present. And the 4th day, being off Damon in the morninge, wee met with the Vizeroye, with seven shippes and two gallies; who willingly let us runn ahead of hym, and then set sayle and gave us a faynte chase; and then, feching [i.e. gaining] upon us, and our Gennerall resolved to stand with hym, he bore up the helme and stood backe agayne. God graunt it bee not for Surrat; which yf he do, I doubt the towne will hardly stand agaynst hym.

Wee have now bynn quytt of hym this five daies; therfor doubt not but may freely dispatch away the *Hope*; in whom ther is laden so many bales [of] indico as per the invoyse and bill of lading may appear; she being not able to take in what for hir was provided, so the rest is put aboard the *Hectour*.

Having dispeeded away the *Hope*, wee ar to address ourselves for Priaman; from whence wee hope to send the *Hectour* home, with pepper and the remaynour of such goods as the *Hope* leaft out.

A letter was received from Master Edwards of his aryvall at the courte, delyvery of part [of] the present, and good acceptance therof; but being but newly come, no bussynes effected.

The Byskay launces [see p. 33 n.] you sent not hear desired; therfor not to send any more without further advise.

Thus, with my prayers to God for your healthes and prosperities, I comytt you to His holy protection, and rest

Yours allwaies to bee commaunded,

THOMAS ELKINGTON

[Endorsed as sent by the Hope]

*Thomas Elkington aboard the Gift at Bantam to  
the Company*<sup>1</sup>

2 October 1615

Honorable Sir and Worshipfull Sirs,

My dutie premysed, etc.

The bad quarter kept by the Hollanders with us doth almost assure me theas letters shall never come unto your hands, or at least not in that manner as they ought to doe; therfor at present will bee the breyfer and only advise of such mayne occurrents which hath happened synce my last, referring you to lardger advise per the *New Years Guyft*, who I hope will be laden and hearhence redie to departe for Eyngland within 40 dayes at furthest.

My last was of the 25th February, with postscript of the 10th March at sea, per the *Merchantts Hope*, from whom wee parted that night; she directing hir course for Eyngland, and the *Guyft*, *Hectour*, and *Sollomon* for Sumatra and Bantam. The 26th followinge wee parted from the *Hectour*, having, with goods and monies fyttinge, dispatched hir for Achyn, Pryaman, and Tecoa [Tiku]; purposinge to have tuched at Pryaman with the other shippes. But being thwarte the place, wee wear so crossed with stormie and contrary wynds that wee could by no meanes attayne it; so, after two or three daies spent to no purpose, wee bore up for Bantam, wher the *Sollomon* aryved the 2th June and the *Guyft* the 14th of the same, losing companye within 15 leauges of Bantam. The *Guyft*, ryding in deepe water, was dryven from hir anchoring and so put to leeward; which was the reason she was so long after the *Sollomon*; both of them having had a very tedious passadge betwene Surrat and this place, yet (God bee thanked) our men heald out very well in health.

Synce our departure from the *Hectour* wee have not hard from hir; she being directed first to tuche at Achynn to delyver the Kings letter, and ther to make as lyttle stay as might bee, but to

<sup>1</sup> O.C. 295. Holograph. Sent 'per the *Grene Lyon* of Holland.' Endorsed as 'received in London the 14 January 1616 [1617], by a Holland pinace.' It has been printed in *Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 172.

proceede for Pryaman and Tecoa, wher yf she found not lyklyhood of ladinge, to make the more hast to Bantam, to make provition ther for it; or howsoever to bee hear that she might be redie to departe hearhence for Eyngland about the pryme [i.e. first] of November. So now wee exspect hir every hower, and hope laden, in regard she staieth so long. God send hir in savetie. In hir went for merchantts Master John Oxwicke, Edward<sup>1</sup> Aspyrnall, John Sandcrofte, and Samuell Juxon, and for assystantts Robert Johnson and Esay Butt.

Befor our aryvall at Bantam it was intended the *New Years Guyfte* should have gonn for Japann or the Mollokos, and the *Sollomon* for Musylapatan; but upon our aryvall at Bantam wee found the factory of Bantam altogether unprovided of comodities fytting that place [i.e. Japan], as also the *Hozeander* not long before gonn thither, and the *Concord* and *Thomasyne* for the Mollokos and Banda. So that it was thought fytting by a councell not to send hir. But our Gennerall, unwillinge to lye still, had determynd to have gonn for to discover the east syde of Sumatra, to spend tyme till new peper [was available]. But [this was] not to bee donn without a pynase; for which purpose he set men on worke upon a small jounke, which came from Patanie with the *Darlings* men and provition, who was ther laid up as unserviceable and not to be repayred<sup>2</sup>.

The *Sollomon* wee furnyshed with such comodities as this place affoorded, and sent hir the 20th July for Musylapatan; and in hir for merchantts George Chancie, Raph Preston, Humphry Elkington, Tymothie Mallorie, Richard Pytt, and George Savadge; she being to tuch at Patanie, and ther to take in somm other goods and monies, with Master Gurnie<sup>3</sup> or Master Lucas Anthonies<sup>4</sup>, yf Master Gurnie should bee deceassed; hoping by them Your Worships shall have a factory settled ther<sup>5</sup>; the cloath of that place much more fytting for theas partts then the cloath of Surrat.

The 25th July (God be thanked) hear aryved in savetie the

<sup>1</sup> This should be 'Edmund.' The two names were frequently confused.

<sup>2</sup> See *Letters Received*, vol. III, pp. 170, 259.

<sup>3</sup> John Gurney was chief factor in the *James*.

<sup>4</sup> For Antheunis see Mr Moreland's *Peter Floris*.

<sup>5</sup> At Masulipatam.

*Advise* and *Attendant*, and in them Master Robert Yewarte, by whom wee received Your Worships letters, with envoyse and bills of lading; all which goods containd in them (the iron and monie excepted) with as much brevitye as the tyme would permitt wee sent for Japann in the *Advise*, and in hir for cape merchant the said Master Robert Yewart; having, over and above what came out of Eyngland, laden in hir in other comodities from hence to the vallue of 7,300 rials, the particulers wherof per the next you shall receive. She departed hearhence the 10th August, having order directly to goe for Japan, and not to tuch at Patanie or Syam, doubting the year to bee to farr spent to performe the one and other. Theas shippes being at the Cape mett ther with the *Globe* and *James*, bound for Eyngland; to whom they spared 18 men, with somm other provitions; they departing towards Eyngland the 17th Maye (wher I hope or [i.e. ere] this they are savely aryved) and the *Advise* and *Attendant* hetherward the day following; meeting somm 10 daies after their departure from the Cape with a ship, but could not speake with hir; which wee hope to bee the *Merchants Hope* or *Samarytan*.

The 6th August it pleased God to call to His mercie the Gennerall, Captain Nicholas Dounton; after whose interrering, according to Your Worships order, wee called a councell of marchantts and masters (such as wear present); and oppeninge the boxes no. 1 and 2, wee found it was Your Worships order that, in the absence or deceass of Master William Edwards and Nicholas Ensworth, I should succede; which your order I do with all humylytic obaye, and do purpose (God sending me lyfe) to retorne for Eyngland in your ship the *New Years Guyft*; having allredie redylyvered to Master John Jordann what goods and elce I received from hym; having but a small tyme before the Genneralls deceass begunn to receive of hym, syckness from my first aryvall in Bantam till then hyndring me from more spedier performance of it. So [I] have leaft hym your Cheife in Bantam, myselfe comminge presently aboard the ship, wher I do remayne.

The *Attendant*, so soone as wee could fytt the pynnase which the *Guyft* brought out of Eyngland, wee sent away for to

discover the east syde of Sumatra, and principally to a place called Jambee, wher, wee ar informed, is store [of] peper and hope of Gould; having fytted hir with such comodities as is needful, and in hir sent for merchantts Master Richard Westbie<sup>1</sup>, John Tucker, and W[illiam] Vernon; she with hir pynnasse, called the *Assystante*, departing the 12th September. God send them a prosperous voyadge<sup>2</sup>.

As yet ther is lyttle or no peper come in, the year being very backward and will not yeald (by reporte) half of what the last year; withall, for want of rayne, will bee very small. Nevertheless, [I] hope, yf the *Hectour* and *Thomas* have any good success at Pryaman, you will have them, with the *Guyft*, laden home this year; nothing being to bee exspected from the Mollokos or Banda, the Flemmings perforce having beaten away the *Concord* and *Thomasyne* from thence; so attendinge one them with greater force then theirs, that they could land nowher. The *Concord* aryved hear about the 13th August, leaving the *Thomasyne* at Macassar to come awaie within three or four daies after; which she dyd, but the same night she put from thence [she] was, by the most vild neglygence of Raph Willsonn, the master, and companie, cast away within 12 [*sic*] leauges of Macassar upon an iland uninhabited, all being asleepe when she stroke aground, savinge hym at helme, as Master Bayly, the merchant of hir, reporteth. The men wear all saved, and what monie was in hir; and [they] came hether in their boate, the place wher they wear cast away being dystante from hence a matter of 270 leauges.

Our men hetherto (God be thanked) hath remayned in reasonable good health, but now, upon the alteration of the monson and raynes cominge in, somm begynn to fall downe. Therfor [I] wish our ladinge wear redie, that wee might bee dispeded from hence, being now the most dangerous tyme of the year. Of Your Worships factours sent in the Second Voyadge of the Joynt Stocke, and appoynted for Bantam, are dead synce wee came hear Edward Holmden and Richard Battie. God send health to the rest.

At this very instant is come into the road a small pynnase of

<sup>1</sup> Westby had come out as a factor with Capt. Saris (Eighth Voyage).

<sup>2</sup> For a narrative of this venture see *Letters Received*, vol. III, p. 160.

Your Worships, buylte at Bantam, called the *Speedwell*. She came from Puloway, and is laden with somm 80 suckells<sup>1</sup> [of] mace and the rest nutts [i.e. nutmegs]. The merchant of hir is Sophone Cossucke, who hath leaft at Puloway two Inglyshmen with goods, and hath brought with hym a pryncypall of the Oroncaias, who commeth with letters, and in the name of all the rest, to conferr about busynes concerninge Your Worships trade, wherof hereafter you shall have more larger advise, having had as yet skarce tyme of speeche with them [*sic*].

Thus have I breyfly advised you of our mayne proceedings hear, referring you for more particulers till the aryvall of the *Guyft* or somm other of Your Worships shippes; which I hope will not be long after this, being very doubtfull (as I have said) of the delyvery of theas. So do for present humblye take my leave, comytting you and Your Worships affairs to the mercifull protection of Thalmightie, and rest

Your servant to bee commanded,

THO. ELKINGTON

*Edward Dodsworth aboard the Hope in  
'Gelbege Harbour'<sup>2</sup> to the Company<sup>3</sup>*

5 November 1615

At our arivall at Surratt we fownd small store of goods provided for our ships. Therefore we concluded to sende upp into divers places of India to buy goods, both for England and other parts of the Indies.

It was the last of November before we could be permitted to go forward, by reason they of Surratt feared that the Portugales would assaut Surratt.

We go along to Amadavar, having Master Edwards in company towards Agra. Wee came to Amadavar the 15 December;

<sup>1</sup> Mace was usually bought by the suckell or succat, equivalent to about 132 lb.

<sup>2</sup> See note on p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> This is an abstract only, forming part of O.C. 187. It has been printed in *Letters Received*, vol. II, p. 188.

being limited by our Generall to retourne with our goodes by the last of Januarie.

Some of our factors sente to one place and some to another, to buy severall comodities. We buy indicoes at Amadavar and Sirques. The contrie people, wanting mony, were desirous to put off their indicoes at reasonable rates.

Discription of the Portugales arrivall, forces, attempts, and successe.

The governours of the wholl countrie generally do not well affect Christians, but for their owne peace and proffit ready to take part with the strongest.

The trade at Surratt like to be comodious for vending of some cloath, quicksilver, lead, eliphants teeth, etc.; and goods to be bought to relaide two ships for England yerely.

Good trade there wilbe also for spices etc. from Bantam; wherewith he adviseth that one ship be yerely ladenn, and from Bantam to go at such season as shee maie meete with our fleete going from hence toward Surratt, at such a convenient place as maie be appointed; which wilbe a good strengthning ech to other. And of such India comodities so laden at Bantam to make sale at Surratt as that place will profitably carry; and for the rest of the spices in the same ship, to be shipt for England among the indicoes which shalbe laden at Surratt, being verie fitt stowedge; and the rather because much roome is lost in stowing the indicoes alone, as in this ship, the *Hope*, experience sheweth.

The Portugales, having felt the sweetenes of the trade at Surrat a long time, being the nourcery of all their trade, both for buying and sellinge, will not easily be put out; but as they have received authority from ther king, I make accompt [they] will this next yere following make their strength to give us a generall overthrowe, whereby utterlie to discourage us and redeeme their graces lost.

I thincke fitt to write you thus much, and not to deferr the relacion hereof till my comynge, fearing it would be too late for you to provide a sufficient fleete this yere; which being omitted, questyonles Surratt wilbe takenn and we then frustrate of our present hopes; for that the Mogores timorousnes will then bring him to compownde.



I arived at Salda[nia] the 17 Juni; where meeting happily with Captain Keeling, I advised him of all matters and spared him what ordinance I had least use of; he also supplying unto me what we wanted [i.e. lacked].

At Saldania you maie have a plantacion, if you please, which wilbe goode comfort to such of your shipping as shall have recourse that waie<sup>1</sup>.

I in 29 degrees north latitude met with a Hollond ship, which went to Mouris Islands to lade woodes, which seemeth to be bastard ibonie, but there fownd three Hollond shippes cast away and split upon the rockes; of two whereof all the men and goods wholly lost, but of one the men and best part of the goodes saved; with which goodes this shipp was ladenn<sup>2</sup>.

Sir Henry Folliotts kindenes and good offices performed to us in Ireland. Captain Manwaring come into Ireland with two ships, having received his pardon.

If this ship, the *Hope*, could come soone inough aboute, it would be a goode strengthening to your fleete nowe making ready, etc.

To furnish him with necessaryes, according to the masters letter, and with what mony shalbe thought fitt.

<sup>1</sup> For suggestions to the same effect see *Best*, pp. 251, 253.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 44, 128.



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